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30 April 1982

SOUTH AND EAST ASIA REPORT

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'INDIAN EXPRESS' URGES RESUMPTION OF TALKS WITH PAKISTAN

BK200323 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 15 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Ajit Bhattacharjea: "Need To Resume No-War Dialogue"]

[Text] Comparison of the record of the speech given by the Pakistan delegate, Mr Agha Hilaly, at the UN Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva with the official reaction in New Delhi reinforces the earlier impression that the Government of India is exaggerating its implications because of its reluctance to proceed with talks on the proposed no-war pact. It may have been necessary for his Indian counterpart, Mr Baliram Bhagat, to set the record straight on the status of Jammu and Kashmir. But there is nothing in Mr Hilaly's initial statement to have warranted cancellation of the Indo-Pakistani talks scheduled for earlier this month.

The relevant extract merits quotation in full in view of what has followed. Mr Hilaly said: "One of the most important achievements of the UN since the adoption of the charter has been the recognition and the progressive exercise of the right of self-determination by various peoples under colonial or alien domination. Indeed, the past three decades could be described as the era of self-determination and national liberation.

"Yet as the study prepared by Mr Cross Espiell indicates, there are several territories where the right of self-determination remains to be exercised in accordance with the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations. We believe that the dispute pertaining to Jammu and Kashmir should be resolved similarly in the spirit of the Simla agreement." The report cited was apparently conducted on behalf of the Human Rights Commission on the issue of self-determination and had mentioned Jammu and Kashmir. The reference had been removed after a protest by India, but the removal had been contested by Pakistan.

Mr Bhagat retorted that "the State of Jammu and Kashmir is constitutionally and legally an integral part of India like any other state of the Indian Union. Consequently, the people of Jammu and Kashmir have always enjoyed and will continue to enjoy the same rights as the people of the rest of India. Mr Chairman, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have participated along with the rest of the people of India in seven general elections and state-level elections."

Then came a sentence that must have rattled Mr Hilaly: "Surely the delegation of Pakistan does not believe that the rights of self-determination and self-expression can best be exercised under martial law."

After a break of two or three days, in which presumably the delegations consulted their governments, Mr Hilaly returned to the attack. It was then that he compared the situation in Kashmir with that in Palestine and Namibia and Mr Bhagat responded with further uncomplimentary remarks about conditions in Pakistan.

This was unfortunate. Obviously, neither delegation was imbued with the spirit that seemed to have been generated by their foreign ministers, when they conferred in New Delhi a few days earlier. But did the exchange justify cancellation of the follow-up meeting in Islamabad from which so much was expected?

The key issues, of course, is whether Islamabad can continue to press its claims to Kashmir while discussing a no-war pact. Viewed in the perspective of the feelings aroused in Pakistan on the Kashmir question, it would be as unrealistic to expect it not to do so as for anyone to presume that New Delhi can give up its claim to Aksai Chin. Statesmanship requires recognition of the fact that anyone in power in Pakistan must reiterate its claim, but not in a manner that prevents progress in improving relations between the two countries and ridding both of the fear and financial burden of preparing for another war.

President Ziaul Haq described the quandary with great frankness when I met him in September. After describing Kashmir as the "Achilles heel" of the relationship between the two countries, he said: "In India it may or may not be different, but in Pakistan, what for 35 years has been done I cannot undo. For 35 years, Pakistan has got Kashmir wrapped up in its internal politics. I cannot unwrap it even if I had all the intentions. So somehow or other, with the normalisation of our relations, we have to take a look at the Kashmir issue also to see how best this problem can be resolved."

As long as Islamabad limits its claims by placing it within the confines of the Simla agreement, New Delhi should have no objection. The agreement rules out use of force to settle the dispute and commits both sides to bilateral negotiations. But it cannot be taken to debar Pakistani spokesmen from referring to Kashmir at the various forums provided by the United Nations where it has become traditional for it to do so. If they did not, the government would be charged with giving up a cause which is deeply embedded in Pakistani political thinking.

Seen in this perspective, no legitimate objection can be taken to Mr Hilaly's initial remarks. Mr Bhagat would have done well to set the record straight without provoking the Pakistanis on being under military rule. The objective of securing Indo-Pakistan friendship is far too valuable to risk by scoring debating points. The same, of course, applied to Mr Hilaly.

Enough damage has been done by verbal excess, a weakness to which both Indian and Pakistani spokesmen have been subject over the years. The meeting of the

foreign secretaries to the two governments should not be delayed further. And some ground-rules can perhaps be worked out to avoid another verbal confrontation. Islamabad could instruct its spokesmen not to mention Kashmir except in circumstances where the failure to do so might reflect on its stand. And New Delhi could instruct its delegates not to have a dig at Pakistan's domestic affairs and limit themselves to setting the record straight, and that only when necessary. Those who have attended UN sessions where Indian and Pakistani delegates have clashed are fully aware of the condescension and fatigue with which they are heard by other delegations. And their arguments seldom find mention in the press, except in India and Pakistan.

As long as both governments observe these rules, Kashmir should not come in the way of a non-aggression pact. The substantial increase in the defence budget is a reminder of what continued hostility is costing the common man in both countries.

Kashmir cannot be kept out of a discussion on Indo-Pakistan relations. It might be worth probing what exactly Islamabad has in mind to resolve the dispute. Whatever it might say for the record, no government in Pakistan can possibly believe that India will give up the part of the state that it has integrated with the rest of the union. Nor does any Pakistani say so in private conversation.

The most that Pakistan can hope for now is a process that converts the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir into the international border over a period of time without creating resentment at home. This can be achieved by removing once and for all the fear that India threatens the security of Pakistan. A no-war pact, coupled with troop movements that make it plain that neither country threatens, or feels threatened by, the other can create the necessary environment.

Both countries can live with the status quo in Jammu and Kashmir, as long as they respect the Simla agreement. Once restrictions on travel and trade across the line of control are relaxed, the precise alignment of the border will lose its emotive, political overtones.

CSO: 4220/7081

RAJYA SABHA ENDORSES STAND ON PAKISTAN TALKS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Mar 82 p 5

[Text] Cutting across party lines and political affiliations a majority of members in the Rajya Sabha unequivocally denounced Pakistan's attempt to equate Kashmir with the Palestinian and Namibian issues at the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, and endorsed the Government's decision to defer the Secretary level Indo-Pak talks on the proposed no-war pact in response to the Pak action.

Replying to a calling attention motion on the situation arising out of the "indefinite postponement" of the Indo-Pak talks, External Affairs Minister P V Narasimha Rao said there was a limit to a country's initiatives to improve ties with its neighbour while the latter continued to blow hot and cold.

He said the problem was that Pakistan had exposed both its faces to India, and hence the uncertainty in assessing where we stand in our relations with that country at a particular point of time.

He told Prof Rasheduddin Khan (Nom), who had recalled how the good atmosphere created by Mr Rao's visit to Pakistan last June had been vitiated by the Buckley trip to Islamabad immediately following him and the negotiation of the US-Pak arms deal, that India was well aware of the need to expedite improvement of relations with its neighbours in view of the dangers "hovering around us". However, he explained that it was not so much the wording of the Pak delegate Agha Hilaly at the Geneva meet which had evoked the Indian response as the way in which it had vitiated the good atmosphere in Indo-Pak ties and the forum in which the accusations were made.

Nevertheless, Mr Rao said he was hopeful of the future and referred to two latest positive developments: (i) Pak President Zia-ul-Haq's recent speeches had demonstrated his desire to improve relations with India "which we reciprocate"; (ii) after the incident at Geneva, the Commission Report itself had dropped all reference

to Kashmir following Pakistan's response to an Indian request in this regard.

The Government was now trying to ascertain if these signs could be regarded as indicators of improvement in the vitiated atmosphere that could eventually lead to resumption of the talks. That would be possible, he said, if these current symptoms of improvement in the atmosphere continued steadily.

The discussion on the motion was marked by clashes between MPs, even among those of the Opposition. One utterance by Mr Jaswant Singh (BJP) that "in the eyes of the rest of the world, we (Indians) are firmly in the Soviet camp" brought angry reaction from veteran Congress-S MP A G Kulkarni who loudly shouted to point out that there was nothing wrong in being friendly with the USSR which "is all along helping us", but it was improper and unfair to describe India as being in the Soviet bandwagon. "I totally disagree", Mr Kulkarni was heard saying.

Mr N K P Salve (C-I) characterised it as the "greatest canard", and Mr Manubhai Patel (J) said: "We are neither pro-Russian nor pro-American, we are nationalists". Other speakers, who followed Mr Jaswant Singh notably Mr Dinesh Goswami (Ind) and Mr N P Nanda (C-S) also condemned his statement in unambiguous terms.

In fact it was only Mr Jaswant Singh (BJP) who criticised the Government for the postponement of the scheduled talks and also read out from the proceedings of the Geneva meeting to conclude that the Pakistani delegate had not tried to equate Kashmir with Namibia or Palestine, but had bracketed Afghanistan with Palestine and Namibia....

This point was effectively countered by Mr Rao, but later Mr Dinesh Goswami (Ind) read out the relevant sentence of the Pak delegate in full to point out that Mr Agha Hilaly had equated Kashmir with Palestine, Nami-

bia and Afghanistan, and had also implied that Kashmir was under foreign occupation. "This I see as a dangerous portent", Mr Goswami added.

The External Affairs Minister said if the Foreign Secretary had gone to Islamabad in a vitiated atmosphere, he would have come back with a still greater vitiation of atmosphere and there would have been a stalemate and 'we would have been sorrier'.

Mr Rao clarified that the talks had not been postponed for an indefinite period. They were put off temporarily and 'for the time being' following adverse and 'contentious' references made by the Pakistani delegate at the UN meet.

He strongly defended the postponement of the talks. This was done in the best national interest and in the interest of lasting friendly relations between the India and Pakistan.

He denied the allegation that he was responsible for all the 'rumpus' on this issue.

The decision to postpone the talks, he said, was taken by the Government and there were no separate decisions at the External Affairs Ministry and the Prime Minister's secretariat level.

Mr Rao asserted that he only followed the foreign policy laid down by the Prime Minister as was the case in all other countries like Britain and US.

Referring to Mr Jaswant Singh's allegation that there was a 'discrepancy' between the version given by Government and the official text of proceedings of the UN Human Rights Commission on Jammu and Kashmir, Mr Rao said there was no difference between the two. Taking into account the 'totality of the scenario' of the proceedings one would come to the same conclusion as the Government did.

He justified the Government's strong reaction to the Pakistani delegates' utterances on Kashmir issue.

ANALYST NOTES PROBLEMS IN RESUMING PAKISTAN TALKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy: "New Pak. Minister Keen To Resume Talks"]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 21.

The new Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Lt-Gen. Yaqub Khan, is trying to pick up the threads of the interrupted Indo-Pak. exchanges on the proposed no-war pact in an earnest attempt to get the stalled dialogue into stride again.

He has been making some conciliatory observations, both publicly and privately, to assuage India's ruffled feelings over Pakistan's abrasive reference to the Kashmir problem recently in the Human Rights Commission.

One of the first things that Lt. Gen. Yaqub Khan did on his arrival in Islamabad yesterday to take up his new appointment was to talk of Pakistan's keen desire for an early resumption of the no-war negotiations. He did not attempt to justify the Pakistani action nor criticise India's reaction, while stressing the need for restarting the suspended dialogue.

Though he retired from active service more than 10 years ago following differences with the Yahya regime over the handling of the Bangladesh situation, Gen. Yaqub has remained an influential figure in the military establishment. As such he wields considerable personal influence with Gen. Zia-ul-Haq who has specially chosen him for the key post of Foreign Minister at this crucial stage.

The Government of India has not been insisting on any public recantation by Pakistan over its recent performance on the Kashmir problem. It has been pressing for only a private assurance that it would not be repeated in an equally provocative manner on another occasion.

It is evidently on his new Foreign Minister's advice that Gen. Zia himself has been talking reassuringly of the Pakistani aspiration for better relations with India, without blaming it for the recent setback to the no-war dialogue.

The marked restraint in the tone of the latest Pakistani pronouncements has not gone unnoticed in Delhi in the sense that India is no longer refusing to talk of suitable dates for the next round of official level discussions.

But India is finding itself caught up in the incongruities of its personnel policy in ensuring some degree of continuity without prolonged breaks in its diplomatic representation. The present Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Natwar Singh, is due to relinquish charge in Islamabad to take up his new appointment as Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, while his successor, Mr. K. D. Singh, may not be able to go to Pakistan for two or three months due to personal reasons.

The Pakistan Government is no different from the Government of India in its inscrutable ways of conducting high-level diplomacy on crucial issues like Indo-Pak. relations. The former Foreign Minister, Mr. Agha Shahi, was eased out after the first round of the no-war talks and now there is talk of the present Pakistani Ambassador, Mr. Abdul Sattar, being reassigned on completion of nearly four years in Delhi.

It is bad enough to upset a delicate dialogue like the no-war negotiations with provocative statements, as Pakistan has done over the Kashmir issue, but worse still to change horses in midstream for no compelling reason. The two countries have become so accustomed to ad hocism that at any given

moment there is always some missing link in the conduct of their bilateral relations.

Lt. Gen. Yaqub Khan will require at least a few weeks to gain a fuller grasp of all the complexities of Indo-Pak. relations, especially after an absence of nearly 11 years from the sub-continental scene. If the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, also is going to be shifted during the next reshuffle, it will lead to a parallel delay on the India side as well until his successor settles down.

The spirit of moderation that Pakistan is displaying, whether it is only as a ploy or as a manifestation of genuine desire for better relations, can at best create a more hopeful atmosphere, but cannot by itself clear the way for an early resumption of the no-war dialogue.

It is necessary to arrive at some basic understanding through quiet diplomacy before engaging in formal discussions for evolving an agreed concept of a security environment that would obviate the need for resort to force by either side.

The refreshing note of caution in the latest pronouncements of Gen. Zia and his new Foreign Minister on Indo-Pak. relations has certainly made a reasonably good impact in Delhi.

But a lot more remains to be done by them to dispel India's lingering suspicions about both the timing and purpose of their sudden fervour for a no-war pact after shunning the very idea as recently as last year, not to talk of Pakistan's total opposition to it for the last three decades.

CSD: 4220/7047

GANDHI SPEECHES, TALKS IN LONDON REPORTED

Report on Television Interview

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Article by B. K. Joshi: "Threat to World Peace"]

[Excerpt]

LONDON, March 23.

IN a pre-recorded TV interview broadcast at peak time here last night, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that the acquisition of sophisticated weaponry by Pakistan had added to the totality of the threat in the Indian Ocean region. "That threat is not to us alone, it is a threat to world peace."

With many countries increasing their presence in the Indian Ocean what India was worried about was the prospect of Pakistan "being drawn into this world confrontation and suddenly jumping a whole decade ahead so far as sophisticated weaponry is concerned," she clarified.

Mrs. Gandhi's interview, recorded a week earlier in New Delhi when she was hosting a Soviet military mission, had an unusual significance not only as the opening piece of the popular current affairs programme, Panorama, but also because it was devised primarily as a political statement during her visit to the U.K. essentially devoted to cultural affairs.

The Prime Minister rejected the suggestion that the threat from Pakistan was an overplayed obsession on India's part. She said that it was Pakistan which was obsessed. All the peace initiatives had come from India's side.

Answering a question on the meaning of India's stance of positive non-alignment, Mr. Gandhi said that it merely meant that India was not pro-Soviet any more than it was pro any other country. Nor was it anti-America

or anti-West. India considered each case on merit and according to its national interest, she said.

Commenting on the situation in Afghanistan, she reiterated that India did not approve of the presence of foreign troops in any country or of subversive activities by outside elements. This principle held good as much for Afghanistan as for Latin America, Africa, Asia or elsewhere.

The real question, she said, was whether the interested nations wanted the Soviet troops to leave Afghanistan. Or, did they just want to make a noise. "We feel that the manner in which the issue was taken up initially aggravated the issue instead of solving it. It gave the Soviets the impression that the whole world was against them, and they had to defend themselves and dig in their toes."

Did India see either of the Great Powers as a threat? Replying, she said that India perceived threat not directly, but indirectly of growing confrontation and tension of the armament industry becoming dominant as it was now.

"What do you do with all the arms that are collected. Some important world leaders themselves were saying that nobody wanted war, but the world might well drift into war. India felt threatened by that, she said.

Asked what India, as the world's largest democracy, could do to reduce international tensions, she said that India could only mobilise public opinion, by seeing to it that those who felt similarly threatened were heard. The size was not always conducive to strength, specially when a country was not developed, she added.

The Prime Minister pointed out that voices for peace were getting strengthened and they were cutting across political affiliations and social strata. That was one of the ways to reduce tension. India was not alone in feeling threatened. "You have to see what leaders of various European countries were saying," she said.

Asked to comment on American involvement in El Salvador, she thought that American opinion was exerting itself. It should be left to handle the situation. Meanwhile, one should hope that reason and sanity would prevail.

Was there any conflict between her commitment to democracy and her wish to get things done in India? Mrs. Gandhi said that she saw no conflict. "In fact, I think the two are absolutely together. India is too vast in size and has too much diversity and very highly individualistic attitudes of mind among the people so that unless we allow them free play, I do not think we could achieve very much by way of development," she said.

"It does mean sometimes you have to go slower and sometimes programmes are affected, but it is better to slow down than to catch up, rather than have people stop them altogether as happened in some countries."

FORM OF GOVT.

Asked to answer criticism that she was brilliant at dealing with political crises but she tended to drift when in power, Mrs. Gandhi said that this kind of criticism was not justified at all. She had inherited a shattered economy from the Janata government. She was not satisfied with what had been done, obviously one should strive for much more.

Did she think that she could do

more if India had a presidential executive type of constitution? She said that no system was perfect. Each had some advantages and disadvantages, that was part of life. One could only strive to minimise disadvantages.

Was the very weakness of the opposition in India a democratic disadvantage in a way? Mrs. Gandhi said that democracy meant that the voice of the people, particularly of the poor and deprived sections, should be heard. It did not mean that there should be two or three parties. In

India, the attempt was to decentralise and to give people greater power at all levels. What was important was that the genuine voice of the people should be heard.

Mrs. Gandhi said that she had a good rapport with the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. She denied that either of them deserved the description "Iron Lady". But that was the prerogative of the media. But obviously one had to have a firm core of conviction, which one could fight for, she said.

Speech at Indo-Brit Dinner

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Excerpt]

LONDON March 23.—Mrs Gandhi today voiced concern at the "dramatic suddenness" with which the level of danger around India had risen recently forcing it to spend more on defence at "this critical moment," report PTI and AP. She addressed a dinner meeting of the Indo-British Association here.

Mrs Gandhi told a distinguished audience that included Mrs Thatcher, "with what patience, persistence and hardship we had developed just enough strength to ensure our security, when the level of danger around us has risen with dramatic suddenness."

Although India had been forced to spend more on defence, its defence expenditure remained the lowest in Asia—\$7 per capita as compared, for instance, with Pakistan's \$17, she pointed out.

Calling for a spirit of reconciliation, the Prime Minister emphasised that the "present divisions of the world cannot last". The future of mankind was too precious to be entrusted to "prejudices and misjudgments that many of us might harbour. Let us release ourselves from the mental cages of our making."

In a survey of the international scene, Mrs Gandhi noted with concern that tensions were becoming more and more acute and disparities were growing as did rivalries and mistrust.

Speaking for developing nations, she asserted that they did not ask

for condescension but for understanding, "not sacrifice but sharing, not charity but partnership". Impatience was growing that all this must change.

She mentioned India's substantial progress in oil production, recalling that last year's crude output was 60% higher than the previous year's.

Mrs Gandhi has expressed concern over the arming of Pakistan and said it was a threat not to India alone but to world peace. "Pakistan has added to the totality of the threat", she said in a BBC television interview on the "Panorama" programme shown at peak viewing time last night.

Mrs Gandhi said although Pakistan was a threat to India, "it is not the centre of our thinking. We can handle Pakistan. We have been invaded" four times and we have given them an adequate answer. "But what we are worried about is that Pakistan is being drawn into world confrontation, suddenly jumping a whole decade ahead of us so far as sophisticated weapons are concerned"

Indo-British Talks

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Batuk Gathani: "UK May Get Major Contracts"]

[Excerpt]

LONDON, March 23.

British exports to India worth Rs. 2,208 crores are likely after top-level discussions followed by informal talks at the junior official level here. According to informed British sources, sale of heavy equipment figured prominently in the talks.

Visible trade between India and Britain in 1980 amounted to £ 845 millions, equivalent to about Rs. 1563 crores.

Although the Indian officials accompanying the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, are tight-lipped about prospects of signing any major industrial contracts, her talks with the British Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher, have aroused wide expectations for initialling bigger contracts.

India has already nearly finalised terms to the tune of Rs. 1,700 crores for erecting an integrated iron and steel rolling plant in Orissa. This contract will go to Messrs Davy McKee Consortium.

The other important project under discussion is the system 'X' electronic telephone being offered by British Telecommunications and three other associated suppliers.

Also according to *Financial Times* the British and Indian Governments have started negotiations on financing for a port project near Bombay, costing an equivalent of Rs. 600 crores. It is possible that the port project might figure later during bilateral discussions.

The proposed port will be located about 15 km. from the Bombay main port and will

have eight berths. It is designed to ease congestion in Bombay, which is currently handling nearly five times its rated capacity.

British companies are seriously interested in acquiring this port contract. According to a report published today, India is also in the market for tanks, anti-missiles, field artillery and other weapons.

This morning Mrs. Gandhi had informal discussions with leaders of the Labour Party, Mr. Michael Foot and Mr. Dennis Healey, who called on her at Claridges hotel. Later the former Prime Minister, and Mrs. Thatcher's political rival in the Tory establishment Mr. Edward Heath had discussion for over 40 minutes with Mrs. Gandhi. Mr. Heath is also a prominent member of the Brandt commission, which is promoting the North-South dialogue.

There was an official lunch hosted by the Lord Mayor of London in honour of Mrs.

Gandhi. In the afternoon she visited London's most prominent department store Messrs. Selfridges, where nearly half of one of its floor spaces carries a display of Indian goods.

Mrs. Gandhi also officially opened "In the image of man" exhibition at London's Hayward gallery, where she was greeted by Mrs. Thatcher. In the evening she attended a reception hosted by the High Commissioner of India Dr. Seyid Muhammed. Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Thatcher also attended a dinner hosted by the Chairman of the Indo-British Association Mr. Swaraj Paul.

CSO: 4220/7053

INDIA

GANDHI 24 MAR LONDON PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Remarks on Democracy, Other Matters

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Text] London, March 24--Mrs Gandhi said here today democracy was the only "practical and workable" system in India, report UNI and PTI. She addressed a Press conference on the fourth day of her five-day official visit to Britain.

She said that ever since she had landed in Britain people had been asking her about the future of democracy in India. "Why should there be any doubts about the future of democracy in India? Democracy is the only practical and workable system in India," she said.

Mrs Gandhi paid tribute to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, and said that she had come to London with a view to "deepening" her friendship with her.

"This visit has deepened the personal friendship between us as well as between our two countries. I always had high regard and admiration for her as a person although, as I have said before, we may differ on policy."

On foreign policy, Mrs Gandhi maintained her previous stand on Poland, Afghanistan and Pakistan. She said what was happening in Poland was an internal affair of the Polish people.

'No Invasion'

Pressed to clarify her stand on Afghanistan, Mrs Gandhi said: "It was not an invasion. The Russians were invited there." But, she said, India did not approve of foreign intervention in any country.

She asked why the Western media had overlooked foreign interventions in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

She was asked to explain the purpose behind the recent visit of the Soviet military delegation to India. Mrs Gandhi said the visit was routine and she had mentioned it to Mrs Thatcher "in passing."

Asked about the suspension of India-Pakistan talks on a no-war pact, the Prime Minister replied India thought it was not the right time for the Foreign Secretary to go to Islamabad because on the eve of the visit, Pakistan had raised at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva certain questions "which we thought were issues to be taken up only bilaterally."

The Pakistani authorities, she said, were aware of the very strong reaction which was created by the mention, of any such matter. "It does create a suspicion as to whether they are serious about it," she added.

The Prime Minister declined to indicate when the no-war pact talks would be resumed. When Parliament was in session, it would be considered a breach of privilege if she said anything about it in a Press conference.

On democracy, she said: "I cannot understand why this question has been asked by every Britisher I have met in the short time that I have been here. Why should there be any misgivings about democracy in India? I have said time and again that India is a vast country with wide diversity in terms of its population. As the people are highly individualistic democracy is the only practical and workable system."

Mrs Gandhi said that because of democracy there were internal problems as well. But those problems would not disappear if there was no democratic form of Government.

On the problem of Indians settled in Britain, Mrs Gandhi said: "I met a lot of Indians yesterday because I was unable to go there (Southall) and other areas where they have settled. Although they are settled here and should adopt themselves to this country, they will always have a special place in our hearts."

On disarmament, she said: "We will do everything that is possible. However, I do not believe in generalization. India is not more spiritual than other people nor is it more materialistic than other countries."

Mrs Gandhi said people far removed by geographical distance, circumstances and language could have the same thought.

Speaking at the opening ceremony of "In the image of man" exhibition at Hayward Gallery here, Mrs Gandhi called for having a holistic view--lateral and vertical--of Indian art with an open mind to understand the composite culture of India.

Diversity, and even eccentricities, had always been accepted in India as part of the many-sided aspects of life and the need of individuals to experiment and discover themselves.

"To many who first visit this exhibition the images of the gods and goddesses with many heads and multiple arms will appear difficult to understand. "Seen in its own philosophic base, the many heads may reveal an insight into special powers and the multiple arms a simultaneity of movement and action," Mrs Gandhi said. Queen Elizabeth today hosted a lunch in honour of Mrs Gandhi at Buckingham Palace. Mrs Gandhi later watched a play "cats" at a London theatre.

Remarks on Bangladesh

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] London, March 24--Mrs Gandhi today expressed the hope that there would be no outside intervention in Bangladesh, where the Army had seized power in a coup, report UNI and PTI. India was bound to be worried if there was instability in its neighbourhood.

Addressing a Press conference here Mrs Gandhi spoke of the traumatic experiences Bangladesh had gone through and reaffirmed India's view that countries in its neighbourhood should not give any opportunity for outside intervention. There was no question of India interfering in their affairs.

Mrs Gandhi said: "Personally we would prefer to deal with a democratically elected Government for the reason that we are sure of what they are going to do. But what a country does within its borders is its concern. It does not mean we are neutral. We have our views but we do not interfere."

Asked if she thought CIA could have a hand in the Bangladesh coup, Mrs Gandhi said: "We have not a clue. If I am not revealing a secret we do not really have the type of intelligence service any country should have to keep us fully abreast of events as it should be."

She did not know details of the coup. "We hope there will be peace and harmony."

CSO: 4220/7054

GANDHI SPEECH AT LONDON SCIENCE MEETING REPORTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Text] London, March 26--Mrs Gandhi today accused developed countries perpetuating "international disparities and dependency by assigning subordinate roles to developing nations," reports UNI. She was addressing the Science Policy Foundation here.

Mrs Gandhi said the most glaring instance was of some advanced countries coming in the way of developing States harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The attitude of these countries at the Law of the Sea Conference was also similar. They were preventing developing countries from getting their due share of the vast marine wealth by bolstering private companies solely interested in profit-making.

She observed that India was sensitive to anything which might "cast a shadow on our freedom and said that it had not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty precisely because it was "inherently discriminatory."

Peace and non-interference were crucial for development. "Only such environment will permit us to concentrate on our own science and technology."

Pointing out that India had faced aggression five times since independence, Mrs Gandhi said: "We simply cannot be unprepared. Our land borders and sea coast comprise 21,300 km. Yet our defence expenditure is the lowest in Asia--4.5% of the Budget of the Union and the State Governments.

Emphasising that science should transcend national boundaries and embrace the world, the Prime Minister regretted that the patterns of growth of industrialized nations had proved to be "wasteful, besides breeding discontent and uncertainty, and they cast their nets far and wide."

India firmly believed that the emphasis must shift from the individual acquisition of goods to a system in which "caring and sharing takes the place of exploitation."

One of the major objectives of science should be to evolve technologies and induce lifestyles that used the minimum energy and material, to get more from less, for the benefit of mankind.

Mrs Gandhi said self-reliance did not mean isolation from others or from foreign ideas. "Technological muscle" was acquired by acquiring known knowledge and adapting what had been done elsewhere.

India was concerned with advanced areas of science like atomic energy and space, because of its "immense practical benefit and necessity for us." This was not vain glory.

India's space effort was important for education, communication and deeper knowledge of the monsoon, which ruled the nation's economic calendar.

"The ground can be better mapped from the sky for programmes of mineralogical investigation. From oceanography, we can augment our food and mineral resources. Our experience in oil exploration teaches us the inescapable need for home-grown expertise. Biogenetics open out vast possibilities."

PTI adds: Mrs Gandhi today urged various organizations of Indians in Britain to sink their differences in their own interests.

Talking to several groups of Indian organizations here, she noted that they had certain differences and that there was a clash of personalities. But she impressed upon them that divisions would only worsen their problems.

Among those who met Mrs Gandhi were representatives of the Indian Overseas Congress and the Ramgaria Council of Britain. She spent two hours talking to them.

The Prime Minister is scheduled to leave early tomorrow for New Delhi after a five-day state visit to Britain. Her special Air-India flight will take off from Heathrow airport at 4 a.m. (IST).

CSO: 4220/

GANDHI ADDRESSES LONDON INDIAN LEAGUE MEETING

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Text] London, March 27 (PTI)--The Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, last night denied that civil administration and law and order in India had weakened, but said it was true there occurred some incidents which were "unfortunate and even tragic and some of which we are deeply ashamed."

Mrs Gandhi, who was replying to questions after a brief speech at a meeting held under the auspices of the India League, said some of the problems were the result of "social changes to which we are committed," and they were the same like those faced by affluent countries.

The Prime Minister was cheered by the audience every time she answered a question in a relaxed and apparently convincing manner. She was asked, among other things, about the Indian cricket tour of England this summer, racial discrimination in Britain, communal disturbances in India, defence expenditure, industrial licensing and black money in the Indian economy.

On the law and order situation, Mrs Gandhi said: "We try to handle the situation, and I am sure it will be under control."

The Prime Minister said that during the emergency there was propaganda that every person who was arrested was a political person. When she lifted the emergency, political prisoners were released but not smugglers and anti-social elements. But when the Janata party came to power they released these people with great fanfare. Immediately dacoity increased.

Mrs Gandhi said the increase in crime everywhere was the general malaise of society and human civilisation now.

About communal disturbances, Mrs Gandhi said she was concerned about any kind of violence, especially violence based on religion, caste or language. But communal disturbances were not occurring frequently. It happened in two or three towns which had that kind of reputation for a long time. The government deplored such happenings and did everything to create confidence in the minorities and to create the right kind of atmosphere.

Unfortunately, Mrs Gandhi said, there were certain elements which would like to create such trouble through rumour mongering and creating scare. "This is something we have to meet politically and through education."

Earlier, in her speech, Mrs Gandhi said: "India is on the move. There is progress in every direction. We have not regained the buoyancy we had in 1977, but there is a feeling of hope and self-confidence among the people and that is most important."

Underlining the importance of interdependence among nations, Mrs Gandhi re-referred to the recent South-South meet in New Delhi and said: "We were not supplanting any other effort, our purpose was to help the process of dialogue. We feel committed to global negotiations and we do not want to bypass them."

Other points made by Mrs Gandhi in the question-answer session were:

Racial discrimination: She did not discuss it with Mrs Thatcher this time but it had been raised a number of times before. The British government had assured India that they did not want discrimination against any race. Britain was a multi-racial society and they wanted to keep it that way.

Black money: "It is a very big problem and we have tried various measures to unearth it and to see that the situation does not deteriorate. It is not something peculiar to India. If we have more development and greater production and better distribution that will also help a great deal, besides taking specific measures."

Cricket team's tour: "In our country and in African countries, there is strong feeling about people who cooperate with South Africa and players or teams who go to South Africa. I do not think any Indian team would play with a team which has gone there. The cricket board will take a decision."

Defence spending: "India is spending less on defence than any other Asian country. Since independence we have had five invasions and we have to be prepared for anything. My strong belief is the best victory is avoidance of war."

Industrial licensing: "The vast majority of the people are poor and a few people are becoming richer. I do not say they should not get richer, but I do not want them to become richer at the cost of others. Our development proceeds in such a manner that it benefits society as a whole and not a few people. We lay much greater emphasis on industry in economically backward areas or where there is lack of infrastructure.

"We do not like anybody to have monopoly and if we feel there is monopoly in one direction we try to diversify. Our industries can also face up to competition and we have opened certain areas for foreign investment. We are streamlining administrative procedures."

Media distortions: "We have survived in spite of what the media has said about us. We can do nothing about the media here or anywhere else."

"We are concerned that the image projected in Britain and other countries in the West is not always a fair image. It is not the fault of reporting but it is a tendency to look only at what is considered spectacular. It is not just about India but anywhere in the world. Which means that day-to-day work and tremendous endeavour and considerable achievements are virtually unknown."

GANDHI REMARKS ON RETURN TO INDIA REPORTED

Soviet Trip Not Fixed

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 27--Mrs Indira Gandhi, on her arrival here from the U.K. this afternoon, confirmed that she would visit the Soviet Union this year.

Mrs Gandhi told newsmen at the airport that her trip to London was "exceedingly good," especially the Festival of India, which was the "most remarkable thing" and quite successful.

Her talks with the British Premier, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, were satisfactory. They related to bilateral and economic issues and other matters like the North-South dialogue and the situation in the region.

"Our points of view are well known. There are divergences, of course, for a variety of reasons." But such meetings were useful because they helped to clarify the position.

On Bangladesh, she said in reply to a question: "We can only hope that things will settle down there peacefully and they will try to be friendly with India."

At times, she said, this feeling seemed to be lacking. "Whatever goes wrong, the blame is put on us, although we have broad enough shoulders to bear them."

The Prime Minister refused to say anything on the results of her U.K. visit, pointing out that it would be proper for her to report to Parliament first which was in session.

She, however, regretted that there were some critical comments about the festival in a section of the Indian press. She referred to the comments of Sir Dennis Hamilton, chairman of REUTERS, at a meeting with editors, who said that in his knowledge never had any event received so much attention as the festival. "And he is not so young," she added.

Asked whether she would club her trip to the Scandinavian countries with a visit to the Soviet Union, Mrs Gandhi said that her Scandinavian trip had been fixed for June, but no date had yet been fixed for her visit to Moscow. "It will certainly take place this year," she said.

Lucknow Visit Denounced

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 82 p 1

[Excerpt] New Delhi, March 27--Mrs Indira Gandhi expressed her disapproval of the proposed Lucknow convention on the late Mr Sanjay Gandhi's five-point programme immediately after her arrival from London this afternoon.

At a brief airport press conference, the Prime Minister denounced it as "anti-party," a step designed to "destroy" Mr Gandhi's image, which she thought was just impossible.

As regards Mrs Maneka Gandhi deciding to attend the convention, the prime minister said it was "up to her," but she left no doubt about her disapproval and also made it clear that in the event of her daughter-in-law going to Lucknow, all her denunciatory remarks about the organisers of the convention would apply to Maneka Gandhi equally.

Mrs Maneka Gandhi was not at the airport to receive her though she had come to see the Prime Minister off when she left for the U.K. on a five-day visit.

Mrs Gandhi said the convention was being supported, financially and otherwise, by such elements as the RSS and the BJP. It was unfortunate that Mr Gandhi's associates were combining forces with them.

Nevertheless, she would not ask the organisers to call off the convention because it was an "anti-party act." It was being organised by those who were "against us and especially me."

She thought that the attempts to "destroy" the Sanjay image would not succeed and recalled that he was "hounded" by the Janata government. "The saddest element was the persecution of a single individual by the entire government and all those who controlled it."

She likened the organisers using Mr Sanjay Gandhi's name to the RSS and the BJP now using Mahatma Gandhi's name--all those who tried to destroy him.

CSO: 4220/7062

GAIN FROM GANDHI VISIT TO LONDON DISCUSSED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by B.K. Joshi: "PM Clinches IDA Funds Issue"]

[Text] London, March 26. Britain is understood to have agreed to India's request not to stick to the rule of proportionality in its contribution to the IDA funds consequent on the American reduction. This, apart from the friendlier Indo-British equation that has emerged, is the biggest single gain from Mrs Gandhi's six-day visit, which came to a close today.

India is now in a much stronger position to take up this issue with other European governments in its bid to ensure that the quantum of developmental assistance available to the countries of the third world is not drastically reduced in the wake of the U.S. action.

This was one of the main questions discussed at the recent South-South conference in New Delhi. Until now, Britain was considered a hardliner on this issue.

Among the other gains flowing from Mrs Gandhi's visit are British agreement to step up its bilateral aid from about £72 million to well above £100 million and a promise to ease restrictions on the imports of handicrafts goods from India.

The Indian side, in its talks with the British, had represented that with the imposition of retrospective trade arrangements, the effective British aid was down to about £45 million. The question of service charges had also come up.

On handicrafts, Britain has been impressed with the Indian argument that the fresh restrictions would create mass unemployment among millions of Indian weavers.

Two other packages under discussions, relating to the Orissa super thermal project and that Paradip steel mill, are also likely to go through. Britain had indicated its interest in the execution and financing of these projects.

The Indian government appears to have told the British side that the terms and conditions for these projects, which normally would be decided by global tenders, had to be attractive enough for parliament to waive this requirement.

But initial feasibility studies had not come up with any insurmountable hurdle in the way of the British request for collaboration.

On the political front, there is now evidence not only of a much warmer equation between the two "iron ladies," Mrs Gandhi and Mrs Thatcher, than existed a year ago, but also of a new readiness between the two governments to try to understand each other's viewpoint even on topics which divide them.

It is now recognised by both that some of the differences are the result of individual experiences and geographical locations. Recent developments such as the emergence of conflicting viewpoints on China in the ASEAN countries have also contributed in blurring these differences. Another factor is the possible change in Soviet policies after Mr Brezhnev.

The mutual eagerness to play down the differences is reported to have extended to issues like Afghanistan and the rearming by the West of Pakistan. The gulf remains but there appears to be a new recognition that Indian regional policies are based on its national interest.

What has made a significant change in the British outlook is the belated recognition that Mrs Gandhi is there to stay in India and that India, with its growing self-sufficiency in several fields, is a major political and economic factor to be reckoned with.

CSO: 4220/7060

PRESS REPORTS TROUBLES BETWEEN GANDHI, SON'S WIDOW

Gandhi Letter, Accusations

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 29--Mrs Maneka Gandhi, widow of Sanjay Gandhi, today moved out of the Prime Minister's official residence at No 1 Safdarjang Road, here following the objection the Prime Minister took to her using the place to carry on political activities opposed to her and the Congress(I).

Mrs Gandhi was understood to have taken exception to Mrs Maneka Gandhi's participation in the Lucknow convention yesterday, which she had a day earlier, immediately alighting from the plane from London described as an "anti-party activity."

The Prime Minister, however, told Mrs Maneka Gandhi that if she retraced her steps she was welcome to stay on at 1 Safdarjang Road.

According to reliable sources, the Prime Minister is believed to have taken the unusual step of writing a letter to Mrs Maneka Gandhi in which she is said to have pointed out that, because of her love for Sanjay, Maneka had been taken into the family even though she came from a different background.

Mrs Gandhi is stated to have expressed her sorrow that Maneka had not been able to free herself from other influences and had consistently been disrespectful to her, so much so that it had even shocked Sanjay Gandhi.

After Sanjay's death, Mrs Gandhi is believed to have stated in the letter, Mrs Maneka Gandhi had surrounded herself entirely with those who wished to take advantage of her and exploit her. The Prime Minister is further reported to have said that the sale of Surya was made with the full knowledge of Mrs Maneka Gandhi and that the Prime Minister came to hear of it only later.

Mrs Gandhi is believed to have said that Mrs Maneka Gandhi drifted away from Sanjay Gandhi and his ideas and that Mrs Maneka Gandhi's explanation that she had to attend the Lucknow convention because of Mr Akbar Ahmed's suspension was both untrue and damaging to Sanjay Gandhi's memory.

Obviously, this house could not be a meeting place for those who were in every way opposed to her, Mrs Gandhi stated.

Mrs Gandhi said, at the same time, that she was not a person of light emotion and felt deeply concerned for her (Mrs Maneka Gandhi). She only wished she could have been more effective in influencing her and in dispelling her totally unfounded doubts.

Mrs Gandhi assured her daughter-in-law that her love and concern would always remain, and that whenever she (the daughter-in-law) changed her mind, she would be welcomed back without any recrimination.

Sources close to the Prime Minister also pointed out that Mrs Maneka Gandhi's latest action in attending the convention at Lucknow in the full knowledge that she (the Prime Minister) was opposed to this meeting was the proverbial last straw on the camel's back.

While avowing faith in Mrs Gandhi's national leadership and appealing to the people to strengthen her hands, Mrs Maneka Gandhi, in her Lucknow speech, controverted point-by-point all the observations made by the Prime Minister at her impromptu Press conference the previous day.

Mrs Gandhi had called the convention "anti-party" and as having been encouraged by the RSS, the BJP and other elements opposed especially to her, but Mrs Maneka Gandhi denied any link with the RSS.

To cap it all, the Lucknow convention decided to launch a separate forum for the implementation of the five-point programme of Sanjay Gandhi, with an apex national body and units in every State.

According to sources close to the Prime Minister, there was no question of mistaking that despite her declaration of faith in Mrs Gandhi's political leadership, Mrs Maneka Gandhi was trying to chalk out her own independent political path in alliance with elements which were totally inimical to the Prime Minister and her party.

Sources close to the Prime Minister also dismissed as "fanciful" the charges made by Mr Akbar Ahmed, sponsor of the Lucknow convention against Mr Arun Nehru and Mr N.L. Fotedar, who are assisting Mrs Gandhi and Mr Rajiv Gandhi in their political work. It was stated that Mr Ahmed sought to make out, during his visit to Delhi, that the convention would be dropped if Mrs Gandhi sent away these advisers. It was stated that anyone familiar with Mrs Gandhi's style of functioning knew that she always took her own decisions.

It was also recalled by Congress(I) political circles that immediately after Sanjay Gandhi's death, Mrs Maneka Gandhi was sought to be projected in the political field, some writers having even described her as "a real Durga" who could don the mantle of successor to Mrs Gandhi better than the "mild-mannered" Mr Rajiv Gandhi. Mrs Maneka Gandhi's mother had also encouraged these attempts, it was stated.

According to these circles, Mrs Maneka Gandhi's mother had decried Mr Rajiv Gandhi saying that he had made no contribution to the revival of the Congress after 1977, while her daughter had fought shoulder-to-shoulder with

Sanjay Gandhi. But for a variety of reasons, it was Mr Rajiv Gandhi who emerged on the scene and contested the by-election from Amethi--Sanjay Gandhi's constituency--and entered the Lok Sabha.

UNI adds: The Janata Party general secretary, Mr R.K. Hegde, said here today that the entry of Mrs Maneka Gandhi into active politics "may bring about startling developments."

Talking to reporters, he said recent developments leading to "defiance of the supreme leader's directive" by Mrs Maneka Gandhi reminded one of the good old days of the Moghul court, in this she is not alone," he added.

Mr Hegde said signs of disenchantment and frustration in vast sections of the Congress(I) party were becoming clearer.

The Bharatiya Janata Party president, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, said today that Mrs Gandhi's allegation that his party had a hand in organizing Mrs Maneka Gandhi's Lucknow convention showed "how badly rattled she was at the first sign of a revolt in her own household."

In a statement, he said the BJP was a serious party and had "no stomach or use for a palace-intrigue type of politics."

Mr Vajpayee said his party was not interested in whom Mrs Gandhi groomed as her successor as "it did not recognize her right to usurp the function of the people to decide who will succeed her."

About the sale of Surya Magazine, he said the BJP was not even aware of the deal till reports appeared in the Press.

Mr Vajpayee said although the BJP knew that it was Mrs Gandhi's favourite whipping boy for anything, "I wish it were possible for her to understand for once that she was serving neither herself nor anybody else by indulging in this pastime so often." In fact, he added, "she is cutting herself off more and more from reality" by doing so.

The BJP president expressed surprise that Mrs Gandhi was "angry and bitter" rather than bless a convention to propagate Sanjay Gandhi's five-point programme for which he was lionized at one time.

He added: "The truth is that, then as now, the programme for its own sake meant nothing to Mrs Gandhi. It was trumpeted because it was subserving her real aim, namely, building up Sanjay as her successor. Now, the programme has become a dirty word because it might give some aura to Mrs Maneka Gandhi.

Text of Maneka Gandhi Letter

Madras THE HINDU in English 31 Mar 82 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 30.

Mrs Indira Gandhi in a letter to Mrs Maneka yesterday, before she left the house at night, told her that she had been shocked by her daughter-in-law's behaviour.

Mrs Gandhi was reported to have said she was sorry that Mrs Maneka had not been able to free herself from other influences and had consistently been disrespectful to her.

Mrs Gandhi said because of her love for her younger son, Maneka had been taken into the family and given time to adjust herself. Unfortunately she did not adjust and was consistent in her disrespect towards her (mother-in-law).

All this used to shock and upset Sanjay Gandhi also, she added.

According to the letter, there was evidence how Mrs Maneka under the influence of others had changed her decisions and conduct.

Ever since Maneka came into the Gandhi family, Mrs Gandhi had spoken to her sharply only on three occasions. The first time was soon after the wedding when Maneka used the worst abuse against her mother-in-law and husband.

The second time was when Maneka came to talk to Mrs Gandhi on the eve of her departure for the U.K. about the Lucknow convention. The last occasion was yesterday.

Mrs Gandhi said in the letter that after Sanjay's death Maneka had surrounded herself with those who wished to take advantage and to exploit her.

The sale of 'Surya India' magazine to Sardar Angre of the RSS took place with Maneka's full knowledge. Mrs Gandhi came to know of it later. But Maneka kept this as well as her other activities from Mrs Gandhi. This only proved how far Maneka had drifted from the ideals which had motivated Sanjay.

People were astonished to hear Maneka's remark that she had attended the Lucknow convention because of an MLA's (Mr Akbar Ahmed of UP) suspension, particularly after the damaging statement these people had made about Sanjay. This showed where Maneka's loyalty lay, said the latter.

Mrs Gandhi said obviously her house could not be a meeting place for those who were in every way opposed to her.

But she said she was not a person of light emotions and felt deeply concerned about Maneka. All she wished was that she could be more effective in influencing Maneka and in dispelling her totally unfounded doubts.

Mrs Gandhi told Maneka that her love and affection for her would always remain and whenever Maneka changed her mind, she would be welcomed back to the family.

Maneka's Charges

The following is the text of the letter Mrs Maneka Gandhi sent to Mrs Gandhi today:

Dear Mummy,

As usual you have written a letter meant for posterity and the press. In that are several statements that are, quite simply, not true. The first offence that you keep talking about is "bad language" and you can produce the family or your people as witnesses but it simply isn't true. Secondly, you have talked about Sanjay complaining when you know, and so does everyone else, of how much affection he had for me.

Now we come to actuals. The indignities and physical and mental abuse, I have suffered in the house and I repeat no human being would have suffered. As soon as Sanjay died you started literally torturing me in every conceivable way. I have borne it for a long time because of Sanjay and because I am your Bahu. If I had wanted to be against you I would not have fought so bitterly for you in the Janata years--a fact you seem to have conveniently forgotten--when the rest of your family was packed and ready to go abroad. I repeat what I have said earlier--I am not political and have no wish to be--but please let me live my life decently without shouting and abusing me all the time. Today you have ordered me to leave the house in front of two witnesses, insulted me in front of the servants, ordered my luggage searched, confiscated my son and told me I cannot take him, abused me in public, called my family names and sacked my servants. For what? I went to the convention as a guest. I spoke and will always speak for you--the rest is up to you. No amount of letters to me will help but a little bit of affection will. My son will always be your grandson first and even if you don't see me, he will come to see you. Sd/-Maneka.

CSO: 4220/7068

INDIA

CPI FACES PRESSURE TO MODERATE STAND ON GANDHI

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Article by Praful Bidwai: "Pro-Indira Thrust in CPI"]

[Text] The top leadership of the CPI, especially the Rajeshwar Rao group, is under considerable pressure to moderate its opposition to Mrs Gandhi and to take a more "positive" view of her government's policies.

The pressure emanates from a large number of delegates to the CPI congress who have noted the importance of the message sent by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the speech delivered by the leader of the Soviet delegation here.

The effect of these two communications has been further reinforced by the March 24 statement by Mr Brezhnev in Tashkent on the Soviet-Asian relations and by the reproduction of a PRAVDA report in a New Delhi weekly's current issue.

Most of the delegates are no longer in doubt about the pro-Mrs Gandhi thrust contained in these statements and reports as well as the informal interventions--primarily in the form of talks with the CPI leaders--of some of the foreign delegates and invitees to the congress.

If the speech of the CPSU delegation leader endorsed the foreign policy of the government of India, Mr Brezhnev's statement speaks of the mutual confidence between the two countries and their leaders as being "a tremendous, priceless capital."

Commenting on the USSR's relations with "the three biggest Asian powers"--India, Japan and China--he said: "For more than a quarter of a century now, the Soviet Union and India have been actively and tirelessly working to develop and deepen their friendly cooperation. Much has been achieved in this direction. Our people are nowadays united by deep, strong ties in the spheres of economy, science and culture. Over the years, our people have not just familiarised themselves with each other better but have also learnt to respect and value each other sincerely.

"All this happens in spite of the distinctions in the socio-political system, with the strict observance of the principle of non-interference in each others internal affairs and full mutual respect for the specific features of the foreign policy of either of the two countries.

"On the basis of this, the sentiments of mutual confidence between our states and between their leaders are strengthening. And in these days, it is a tremendous, priceless capital. It strengthens in a considerable measure the feeling of security in both sides. It creates a big zone of peace and stability on the Asian continent and enables the two countries to co-operate successfully in the international arena in the effort to preserve and strengthen the development of peaceful co-operation among nations."

The statement, appearing prominently as a Tass-sponsored story in a daily widely-circulated among the delegates here, concludes: "On the whole, our policy on this continent, like on all others, is a policy of strengthening peace and firm rebuff to the enemies of peace, a policy of peaceful co-operation with all those who want to co-operate, a policy of fraternal friendship with the countries of socialism, a policy of solidarity with all forces of social progress, a policy of defence of the sovereign rights of the people. We shall never step off this unshakable Leninist basis of our foreign policy."

The "Pravda" report has been viewed by the CPI delegates as an even stronger and more unconditional endorsement by the Soviet leadership of Mrs. Gandhi — not only her foreign policy but also her domestic policies.

The report speaks of India as "a great Asian state" whose successes and progress in the fields of industrialisation, education, etc., are described in glowing terms. "The conditions of life of a majority of Indians as yet remain difficult. Yet even there, there is undoubtedly a change for the better. This is clearly reflected in such indicators as the decrease in the infant mortality rate, and increase in the average life expectancy."

"India is in the process of growth and construction. It is seeking solutions for its difficult and complex problems and is leading an active political life. The people have secured many democratic rights and are

trying to use them in an ever-greater degree in defence of their vital interests. The big business desire to dictate terms on the country's economy and politics, attempts to restrict trade union rights, to shift the burden of inflation and high prices on the shoulders of the working class have evoked active opposition among the lower strata of the democratic organisations.

"Hence, there are such mass actions of workers and employees, as a large demonstration near Parliament on November 23 last year and a nationwide one-day strike on January 19.

"The government of India is talking measures directed towards solving the complex socio-economic problems facing the country. On January 14 this year, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, spoke over All India Radio outlining a 20-point programme of action.

"A special point of the programme is devoted to the public sector of the economy — the necessity to improve its functioning. It is no secret that in the years when Mr. Desai's government was in power, there were active attempts to curtail the public sector, to yield positions to private capital. And, even now, such calls are being voiced in the pages of some Indian newspapers.

"The government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the last two years has taken measures to remedy the situation in the public-sector enterprises, and last year their performance considerably improved. The total value of output of the public sector rose by ten per cent during the years."

"Pravda" then goes on to describe the "notable success" in the infrastructure industries in the last few months.....

These reports have left few delegates in doubt about what attitude the Soviet leadership wants the CPI

to adopt towards "the government of Mrs. Gandhi" as the "Pravda" article terms the government of India.

The CPSU delegates' informal discussions with the East European representatives, including some embassy officials, at the congress have only further clarified the East bloc view on the matter.

Meanwhile, the question of which "front" to fight on has indeed become a complicated one for the CPI and in more ways than one. For instance, what stand should the party take on, say Haryana, during the forthcoming elections? Can it really go alone or depend merely on an alliance with other left parties or weak "bourgeois" parties such as the Congress (S)? These questions are being asked once again at the congress here.

Unconfirmed reports brought in by several Kerala delegates to the effect that the CPM is unilaterally initiating in that state informal talks with the BJP on seat adjustments, have further weakened the position of the supporters of left unity.

A statement issued here by Mr. Samar Mukherjee, a member of the CPM politburo, that although the BJP is unfit for a political alliance, his party will solicit its support in the fight against "authoritarianism" and the government's economic policies, has hardly helped the votaries of the Bhatinda left unity line.

On the contrary, with Mr. Basava-punniah's recent attack on the CPI, it has once again aroused doubts about the Marxists' real intentions and made many CPI delegates wonder if the CPM has actually made a break with its "sectarian" and "big brother" attitude to the CPI. All this has put Mr. Rajeshwara Rao's supporters in an awkward and compromising situation from which they are likely to find it difficult to extricate themselves.

'TIMES' REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS AT CPI CONGRESS

Concession to CPI Rebels

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Mar 82 pp 1, 6

[Article by Praful Bidwai]

[Text]

VARANASI, March 28.

THE three commissions that sat on Friday to discuss a total of 521 amendments proposed by the CPI delegates to the three main documents of the 12th congress of the party rejected three-fourths of the motions, but made some concessions to the dissident groups active at the congress.

The dissidents had called for a more "positive" approach towards Mrs. Gandhi, for an outright rejection of any alliance with the BJP or its inclusion in the "left and democratic front" the party proposed to build and for a more critical approach to the question of unity with the CPM.

While they were unable (given their numerical weakness) and, to certain extent, also unwilling to push through their views on the first score, they managed to get an assurance from the CPI's central leadership that it would emphasise that it was the party's "urgent task to rouse and mobilise the masses on the widest scale to defend the government's foreign policy" and to build an anti-imperialist front of all the left democratic and patriotic forces (including sections of the Congress-I). The leadership has also an amendment which puts the party's international and national tasks on a par with its "class" tasks.

More significantly, the dissidents succeeded in getting the leadership to agree to demarcate the CPI more clearly (than at Bhatinda) from the CPM, not only on the question of alliance with the BJP and on programmatic perspectives, but also on basic ideological-political position on the international communist move-

ment.

Some of these concessions to be voted upon in the plenary session of the congress tonight are in the form of amendments, proposed by the Rajeshwara Rao leadership itself, incorporating some dissenting views expressed in the 307 amendment to the draft political resolution discussed yesterday.

The most important part of the amendment (no 284) moved by the general secretaries of the Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal units of the party reads: "The CPI firmly upholds the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It pledges anew its unflinching adherence to the commonly agreed conclusions of international meetings of Communist and workers parties as contained in documents of 1957, 1960 and 1969 meetings. The CPI fights against Maoism, Euro-Communism and similar other alien trends. The CPI fights against anti-Communism and all dangers against the Soviet Union and other countries of existing socialism (which exclude China). It spares no effort for defending and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement, of which the CPSU is the vanguard".

By restating in this categorical fashion its distinct differences with the CPM—which considers the CPSU to be revisionist and China to be socialist and which repudiated the CPSU authored 1957, 1960 and 1969 theses on the world situation—the CPI leadership has now succeeded in narrowing its differences with dissenting delegates on the left unity question.

These delegates are wary of the CPM's "sectarian and big brother" attitude to the CPI and feel that,

in getting too close to the CPM, the CPI would run the risk of being swamped by the Marxists and losing a large number of its cadres to the more disciplined, active and politically better trained CPM units. They are also suspicious of the "anti Congress" culture and orientation of the CPM and have been able to convince the CPI leadership that in the interests of the preservation of the party's distinct identity it should demarcate itself more sharply from the Marxists than it did earlier.

The dissidents have, however, had to give up, at least temporarily, the effort to move the party closer to the Congress(I) and accept an official amendment in the common on the political resolution moved by the six state general secretaries referred to earlier.

The amendment originally read: "We are for the unity of the left and democratic forces together with all patriotic and peace forces for preventing a third world war and also to face the external threat to our country. There is no question, however, of any political alliance with the Congress(I) on the pretext of saving the country from anarchy and chaos or in defence of the government's positive foreign policy. Any attempt to soften our struggle against the pro-imperialist, anti-people and anti-democratic policy of the Indira Gandhi government in the name of the danger of world war and external threat to the security of our country would only help extreme reaction to divert the acute mass discontent against their growing misery".

MINOR VICTORY

In the commission discussion, however, the dissidents succeeded in scoring out the phrase, "on the pretext ... positive foreign policy"—a minor victory since an alliance with the Congress(I) is only hazily differentiated from a political alliance.

The dissidents scored another victory in the form of an admission by the Central leadership in the commission on the review report that the CPI had for the past four years neglected the task of building an anti-imperialist front. The leaders, however, requested the delegates moving an amendment for the inclusion of this statement in the report not to "rub it in".

Between 20 and 35 amendments, mostly minor and of a factual or stylistic nature, to the review report were accepted in the commission, while 50 were accepted by the leadership in the political resolution commission. Another 51 were officially accepted in the commission on the organisational report.

Among the latter, it is believed,

figures an amendment moved by a member of the central executive committee, calling for a restructuring of the party centre and putting the CEC directly in charge of all political and organisational matters between two meetings of the national council, thus pruning the role of the party Central Secretariat and general secretary and placing them under the direct supervision of the CEC.

Another significant amendment accepted in the commission relates to Kerala. It says that the recent downfall of the left and democratic front ministry was caused partly by the sectarian and high-handed behaviour of the CPM.

Several other amendments, on questions ranging from the attitude to be taken towards the Naxalites to party cadres' education to parliamentary politics, were also adopted in the commission, as also some amendments by Mr. Indradeep Sinha to the analysis and characterisation of the Indian economic situation and the government's economic policies, contained in the draft political resolution.

The amendments comment on the reduction of the role of the state sector, the opening up of the core sector to monopolists and multinationals, and the decline in the real earnings of workers and employees etc. On the question of agrarian policy, however, the original draft statement, "land reforms have been officially given up", has been modified by a delegate's amendment to read: "land reforms have been virtually given up."

The acceptance of these amendments through a prolonged process of working out compromises with the mediation of the CEC appears to have led to a temporary narrowing of the differences within the C.I. Most dissidents are not unhappy at the outcome of the commission's proceedings and appear convinced that while the CPI has kept many options and has not shifted a great deal away from the Bhatinda line, in practice, it will nevertheless have to move in the very direction they are arguing for. To ask for much more at this stage would be to risk dividing the party.

The dominant leadership is also satisfied with the outcome of the most crucial stage of the Congress deliberations and with the triumph of "the middle line" between the Congress(I) and the CPAL.

There is, thus, only a slender chance that there will be much pressure for a formal vote or ballot on the amendments in the plenary session tonight. Most of them are likely to be unanimously adopted with the original drafts.

National Council Elected

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Mar 82 p 9

[Text]

VARANASI, March 28.

THE plenary session of the 12th congress of the CPI concluded today after electing the party's new national council and central control commission.

The penultimate session had last night put a seal of approval on the "middle course" adopted by the party leadership.

The Congress delegates passed unanimously, barring minor exceptions, three principal documents — the political resolution, the review report and the organisational report—drafted by the central leadership, along with most but not all, the amendments accepted by the latter on Friday.

Some amendments to the organisational report, accepted in principle by the leadership, were not presented to the plenary session but would instead be referred to the new national council scheduled to meet tomorrow.

The new "middle course" places the CPI between the Congress (I) and the CPM on critical political issues, and commits the party to support the government's foreign policy but oppose its domestic ones.

The line characterises the BJP as the spearhead of right reaction and seeks to build a left and democratic alternative which hinges on unity with the CPM. But at the same time the new line has demarcated the CPI

from the CPM more sharply than at the last congress.

The new orientation is the result of compromises reached between the different currents existing in the CPI and their divergent perceptions of recent international and national developments, including "the danger of thermonuclear war" and the growing "imperialist" threat to the socialist countries and to India.

At its last plenary session, the CPI congress unanimously elected a national council consisting of 125 members and 13 candidate members as well as an 11-member central control commission which is likely to be headed by Mr. S. G. Sardesai, who has been shifted to it from the national council.

The complexion of the new national council is somewhat different from that of the outgoing body. Twenty-nine of its 125 members have been elected to it for the first time. Eight of the 13 candidate-members are also new.

There have been major changes in the representation of the Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh units in the national council. These changes, as well as the later alterations proposed by the outgoing national council in its 30-member slate for the party centre, are believed to correspond broadly to the relative weights of the different currents prevalent in the CPI.

The vacancies created in the party

centre by the expulsion of Mr. S. A. Dange, the death of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and the transfer of Mr. Bhogendra Jha to the Bihar component of the national council, have been filled by the induction of Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair, Mr. G. Yallamanda Reddy and Mr. Prabhat Kar into the council. A new member, Mr. Ishag Sambhali, has also been elected to the national council.

The role that the new members are likely to play in the leadership and in shaping the politics of the CPI in the coming period remains a matter of speculation among a large number of delegates.

As thousands of CPI supporters pour into Varanasi for a party rally, the delegates to the congress have already started leaving the town for their journey back home.

PTI adds: Fifteen members were elected from Bihar and 11 from Andhra Pradesh.

The following is the statewide break-up of elected members: Kerala 10, West Bengal nine, Uttar Pradesh eight, Punjab six, Tamil Nadu six, Madhya Pradesh four, Maharashtra four, Orissa three, two each from Assam, Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Rajasthan, and one each from Goa, Kashmir, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura.

Thirty members for the party centre, 13 candidate-members and panel of 11 members for the central control commission were also elected.

CSO: 4220/7065

FACTION AT CPI CONGRESS ATTACKS UNITY PLAN

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26 Mar 82 p 16

[Article by M.H. Jadhav: "CPI Faction Opposes Unity Plan"]

[Text] Varanasi, March 25--The 12th congress of the CPI here received a severe jolt last night and this morning, when a strong group of delegates opposed the party's plan for unity with the Marxists and pleaded for keeping the CPI's option open for links with Mrs Gandhi on the domestic front.

The critics of the unity line declared that the Marxists were not sincere about Left unity and had strong reservations in recognizing the Soviet Communist Party as the centre of the world Communist movement.

The attack on the prounity line at the congress was led by Mr Indradeep Sinha, a leading light of the central leadership and a party theoretician, and many others.

The critics warned the protagonists of unity, led by the party general secretary, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, against creating an "artificial atmosphere" for unity without reaching a firm political understanding with the CPI-M. They also took the position that the CPI should insulate itself against the political onslaughts of the Stalinist CPI-M. The unity move of the Marxists had the clear objective of ideologically disarming the CPI's rank and file. The Marxists had initiated the unity move to gradually liquidate the CPI cadres, particularly in West Bengal and Kerala.

A big group from among the delegates warned the central leadership against being deceived by the Marxists' description of the Soviet Union as an anti-imperialist force in the international arena. The critics, led by Mr Indradeep Sinha accused the party's general secretary Mr Rao of "misleading" the party's rank and file into believing that the Marxists recognized Moscow as the centre of the world Communist movement.

Maoist Line

The critics said that the Marxists had not abandoned their links with the Chinese communists and their faith in Maoist ideology, which had split the international Communist movement. The Marxists still believed and put it forthrightly that the Soviet Communists had become revisionist in its

Marxist-Leninist ideology when its 20th party congress in 1956 came out with support for the bourgeois Government in India.

A number of delegates questioned the central leadership on the party's programme, pointing out the fundamental ideological differences between the two Communist parties. The CPI followed the programme of national democratic revolution in which the bourgeoisie had a leading role to play in achieving Socialist revolution. The CPI-M, on the other hand, believed in a people's democratic revolution, to be carried out by the working class led by the Communist Party. These ideological differences should not be allowed to become blurred. It was also necessary to emphasize these ideological differences for those who had joined the CPI after the split in 1964. Therefore, Mr Sinha and other critics said, Mr Rao's soft attitude towards the Marxists following their deceptive call for the urgent need for Left unity was dangerous to the independent standing of the CPI and its mass organizations.

The critics pleaded with the delegates that the CPI should not close all options with Mrs Gandhi and her Congress (I) when at the present moment war and peace was the main issue and that the party was also seized of the war danger posed by the USA and its allies. The critics reminded the central leadership of the Leninist concept that the party's national task and international task were interrelated. The praise of Mrs Gandhi for her "progressive foreign policy" and at the same time, condemnation of her on the domestic issues invalidated the concept of interrelationship between the national task and international task. Moreover, the centre of the world Communist movement in Moscow appreciated Mrs Gandhi's foreign policy and her policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

BJP Threat

Others attempted to strike down the protagonists of unity on the count that the Marxists wooed all Opposition groups, including the BJP, under the garb of fighting Mrs Gandhi's authoritarianism. The CPI's rank and file in Bihar, U.P., Punjab and other Hindi States had to fight the "ominous" growth of the BJP and therefore any unity with the Marxists would stand in their way.

On Tuesday the delegates had unanimously endorsed the draft political resolution, Mr N.K. Krishnan placed the resolution, emphasizing unity with the CPI(M). It also appeared to the CPI(M) to ensure that the two parties did not cut into each other's base. There was enough room for both to expand, it said.

Delegates from Andhra Pradesh and Kerala were prominent among those who pleaded for enlarging the scope of unity between the two Communist parties.

The leader of the Soviet Communist Party delegation to the CPI congress Mr E.A. Shevardnadze, on Wednesday praised Mrs Gandhi's "independent" foreign policy and her Government's "realistic approach" to the major international problems.

COMMUNIST PAPER REPORTS CPI 12TH CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

Congress Declared Open

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Varanasi, March 22--The 12th congress of the CPI opened here today with a declaration by party general-secretary C. Rajeswara Rao that the party would not compromise on struggles against pro-monopoly, and anti-people policies of Mrs Indira Gandhi's Government.

Mr Rao, delivering the inaugural address to the congress, referred to news reports that he was "softening" towards Mrs Gandhi and said there was no question of the party softening its policies towards Mrs Gandhi's Government. There were no differences in the party over any such question, he said.

The Varanasi party congress would be enriching the Bhatinda political line of building a left and democratic alternative to the Cong-I Government, Mr Rao added.

The congress was opened in afternoon with hoisting of the party flag by veteran Communist leader Z.A. Hamed.

Shahid Jyoti

Earlier, Mr Rajeswara Rao and Mr Ahmed, along with senior leaders of the party, received the "Sahid Jyoti," brought here from Chauri Chaura, in Gorakhpur, by volunteers of the All-India Students Federation and the All-India Youth Federation.

The congress has elected a 12 member presidium, headed by Mr M.N. Govindan Nair. The party central executive committee has also selected a steering committee of the congress.

Gangadhar Adhikari Nagar, the venue of the congress was bedecked with red flags, buntings and huge gates.

The congress is being attended by about 2,000 delegates and alternate delegates from all over the country and fraternal delegates from 40 foreign countries. The biggest contingent of fraternal delegation is from USSR, 36 members which reached here this morning.

The reception committee office, situated at a road significantly named "Pishach vimochan" (ghost exoneration) Road was humming with activity as delegations from various parts of the country arrived. They are being accommodated in dharamshalas, spread all over the ancient city.

The hall, where the congress will meet, was named after late Bhupesh Gupta.

Rajeswara Rao Speech, Others

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Varanasi, March 23--Central secretariat member of the CPI N. K. Krishnan today stressed the necessity of CPI workers going into action to fight anti-people, anti-democratic and pro-vested interest policies of the Indira Gandhi government.

He said the Cong-I policies have led to the worsening of the economic situation, unemployment and rising prices on one hand and freedom to corrupt and dishonest to hoard black money and manipulate commodity market, on the other.

He emphasised that this struggle against the reactionary policies of the Cong-I Government could succeed only through the unity of all leftist and democratic forces.

Mr Krishnan was introducing the draft political resolution for discussion in the CPI congress here.

Two other principal documents, review report and organisational report were introduced by party general-secretary C. Rajeswara Rao and Mr M.A. Farooqi.

Four-Pronged Action

Mr Krishnan envisaged a four-pronged course of action. It included uncompromising struggle against the reactionary anti-people and pro-vested interest policies of Mrs Gandhi's government, struggle to build up a united front of leftist and democratic forces as an alternative to the Cong-I, struggle against pro-imperialistic manipulators against the security and defence of the country--in cooperation with Mrs Gandhi's government which has taken an anti-imperialist stand--and to fight communal, reactionary, obscurantist forces as represented by the BJP.

He asserted that the questions of war and peace in this region, and of defence and security of India against imperialist attempts to encircle it, have assumed prime importance. On this all left and democratic forces had unity of view.

The struggle against parties like the BJP was imperative because they were pressuring the Government to shift further to the right. Although the BJP could be allowed to join a common front on certain issues, there was, however, no question of political alliance with such a reactionary party.

Ties With CP-M

He emphasised that cooperation and unity of the CPI and the CPI-M was extremely important at this juncture, particularly with the "correction in the CPI-M line on international issues like recognition of the important role by USSR in the struggle for preservation of peace and countering imperialist manoeuvres to dominate the developing countries.

It was for the first time that CPI-M had criticised China, though in their own way had criticised the Chinese leadership for joining the US in its imperialist manoeuvres and the Chinese role in Angola and other places.

He said there were still differences on policies and political understanding of the situation, but the CPI was not going to make them an issue with that party.

The main thing, he said was that the CPI-M has realised the necessity of unity of anti-imperialist forces to face the external threats to the country.

The BJP and other rightist parties, openly pursuing pro-US and pro-West policies have been drumming that "India would be in difficulties" because it was "too close to the Soviet Union." He warned: "These people forget, that any distance between India and USSR would lead--India to the imperialist camp."

Bhatinda Line Correct

Introducing the draft review report since the Bhatinda Congress, Mr Rajaswara Rao said that the CPI will have no political alliance either with the Congress-I or the BJP.

Mr Rajeswara Rao asserted that there was no need to change the Bhatinda line where the party decided to launch a fight on two fronts--struggle against anti-people and anti-democratic policies of the bourgeois government and frontal attack on rightist and reactionary and communal forces.

The developments during the last four years and the party's experiences have vindicated the correctness of the Bhatinda policy, Mr Rao said.

The political resolution and the review report will be discussed in the plenary session later today and tomorrow. Thursday would be devoted to the general discussion on organization report.

Presenting his report to the congress yesterday, Mr Rajeshwara Rao reiterated the resolve of the party "never to compromise with the Congress-I on the anti-people policies being pursued by it."

"We will never soften our attitude towards Indira Gandhi's policies on these issues," the CPI general secretary affirmed.

However, he made it clear that on the question of the security and integrity of the country and the security of this region against the manoeuvres of

imperialist forces the party would extend its fullest cooperation even to the Congress-I, which was following a correct line and trying to defend the country against American and Chinese manipulations.

The conference hall, named after CPI leader Bhupesh Gupta, was packed to capacity by delegates and observers from all over India.

Mr Rao said since formulations and policies adopted at Bhatinda had proved correct and national and international events had developed on the lines envisaged, "there was no possibility of differences inside the party on the question of policies, yet the capitalist press, which was trying to build up BJP as the bourgeois alternative to the Congress-I, was spreading rumours of split in the party, which were totally baseless," he said.

Asserting that only a Left democratic unity could be an alternative to the Congress-I, Mr Rajeswar Rao said that the ruling party had become "one-person party" and with the growing loss of popular appeal of Mrs Indira Gandhi the factionalism (in the Cong-I) was bursting out in the open. One example of the factional fights going on in the party, leading to political instability, was Andhra, where three Chief Ministers had been changed in two years and "nobody knows when the third Chief Minister also will go, he said.

Mr Rao said he did not want to go into the question as to who was the main and who was the subsidiary enemy of Indian people's progress and socialism in the country, but it was amazing to see that some people were trying to build up "a rabidly communal," pro-imperialist promonopolist party like the Bharatiya Janata Party as an alternative to the Congress-I. The BJP leadership too had started dreaming of capturing power by 1985, he said.

It was, however, clear, Mr Rao said, that neither such a reactionary and communal party could provide an alternative to the Congress-I nor could it solve the problems being faced by the country.

The CPI leader expressed his happiness at the decisions taken by the CPI-M at its Vijayawada congress as they indicated an important shift in the policy of the party. Some years ago the CPI-M was not even prepared to recognise the CPI as leftist party but not much time had passed after the Jullundur congress that the CPI-M had to join hands with the CPI to bring down the Janata Party rule. At Jullundur they had criticised China and USSR. The CPI-M had realised that it was mistaken in this regard.

Mr Rao said its new resolution had praised the USSR and its role against imperialist manoeuvres and war preparations and the courageous fight the USSR was putting up against imperialist powers headed by the US for the defence of peace and national liberation and socialist movements all over the world.

24 Mar Speeches, Resolution

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Varanasi, March 24--Delegates to the 12th CPI congress today extended firm support to the draft political resolution presented yesterday by N.K. Krishnan.

Delegates from different states participating in the discussion, reiterated their firm resolve to fight the anti-democratic and pro-vested interest policies of the Congress-I as well as the communal, reactionary and obscurantist BJP, "for whom authoritarianism was a matter of principle."

The delegates also stressed the need for closer unity of action between the CPI and the CPI-M.

Till noon, delegates from Bihar, Maharashtra, Kerala, Rajasthan, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Manipur had spoken at the plenary session of the congress.

The morning proceedings opened with greetings from delegates from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba and Czechoslovakia.

While delegates generally agreed to the formulation that the party should extend support the Congress-I in matters of defence and security of the country against imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues, some speakers emphasised that this support should not spill over the limits already set by the resolution.

Delegates related how popular movements were bursting out against rising prices and other grievances and they wanted the party to give clear-cut guidelines to make these movements more broad-based. They also related how the CPI and the CPI-M cadres were coming together for joint action in these movements.

Another welcome development noted by some delegates was the growing interest of the organised workers in the problems of other sections of the society, like those of kisans and farm labourers, and even agitating for them.

The delegation from Manipur warned about the "dangerous situation" developing in that part of country due to continuous infiltration of armed and trained rebels across the Indo-Burma border. More dangerous was the growing feeling amongst the people that the Centre was not interested in preservation of their culture and traditions.

Assam

The Congress adopted a resolution today condemning the imposition of President's rule on Assam for the third time in three years, the dissolution of the Assam Assembly and consequent cancellation of the Rajya Sabha elections from the State, adds UNI.

It said the Assembly dissolution marked the finale of "sordid practices" to distort the democratic processes in the State.

By another resolution, the Congress expressed deep concern at the extremely serious situation in Central America and the Caribbean because of the aggressive US imperialist policies.

The Congress called for further intensification of solidarity action to stop the US threat against Cuba, Nicaragua and Granada, and also to stop US interference in the internal affair of El Salvador. It also requested the Government to accord recognition to the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front of El Salvador.

Soviet Delegate Shevardnadze Speech

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Mar 82 p 4

[Article: "High Soviet Appreciation of India's Peace Policy"]

[Text] Varanasi, March 24--Paying tribute to India's foreign policy the leader of the CPSU delegation to the 12th CPI Congress, Eduard Shevardnadze said that the USSR 'highly appreciates the realistic approach of India to the major international problems, her contribution to the struggle for peace and security of the peoples, against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racialism.'

Addressing the Congress today, he said: "The foreign policy of India is acclaimed by many states. The Soviet people, being the sincere friends of the Indian people, welcome the increasing importance of your country in world affairs."

Mr Shevardnadze warned that 'bellicose imperialism and the forces of world reaction are drawing some of India's neighbouring countries into the net of their dangerous policies.' India's peaceful policy, he stressed, 'is not to their liking and they do not give up their hope to change the policy of non-alignment pursued actively by your country.'

'The cause of their main irritation,' the leader of the CPSU delegation said, 'is the independent policy of India as well as the development and strengthening of her relations with the Soviet Union.'

Dwelling on the international situation, Mr Shevardnadze stressed that the major cause of the present acute aggravation was the actions of the aggressive circles of imperialism headed by the USA. 'They do not want to reconcile themselves to the onward movement of history, to the strengthening of the positions of world socialism, forces of democracy and progress to the steadily growing liberation struggle of the peoples,' he said.

Touching on Afghanistan, Mr Shevardnadze said that 'the imperialists and their accomplices are trying to put the blame for developments in Afghanistan on the Soviet Union.'

'They stubbornly refuse to see that the antifeudal national-democratic revolution was carried out by the Afghan people themselves. The long struggle against the monarchist-feudal regime was conducted by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) which has emerged from the masses of Afghan people. This party is not imposed from outside,' Mr Shevardnadze declared.

He expressed 'high appreciation' in the Soviet Union of the 'realistic approach of the Government of India towards events around Afghanistan.' He reiterated the Soviet position that a solution to the problem lies in stopping all interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and giving the Afghan people an opportunity of solving their problems the way they like.

Turning to the disarmament problem, he said: 'Imposing on mankind an arms race unprecedented in its scale, the imperialists strive to change the correlation of forces in the world, to push socialism back, to check the people's struggle for freedom and social progress.'

'Having declared the achievement of military superiority as its aim,' Mr Shevardnadze said, 'American imperialism keeps increasing its spending on building nuclear weapons of all kinds, including intercontinental and medium-range missiles, neutron chemical, as well as other types of inhuman weapons of mass annihilation.'

'The US imperialists,' he said, 'have arrogated to themselves the right to declare as spheres of their 'vital interests' world's entire regions that could become targets of their interference. The Pentagon is increasing its military might in the Indian Ocean. It is making preparations to deploy there, on a permanent basis, the US naval formations on the model of the fleets operating in the Pacific Ocean and the Mediterranean.'

The Soviet Union, Mr Shevardnadze said, 'actively supports the proposal to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.'

'For a long time,' he added 'we had been conducting talks with the USA on the limitation of military activities in this region. But the talks were interrupted by the American side. We are ready, as before, to solve this problem on the basis of equality and undiminished security.'

"All the people of the world must clearly understand," he said, "that a thermo-nuclear war will leave behind neither victors nor vanquished. That is why all people of our planet must wage a persisting struggle to prevent war, do everything possible in order to remove this threat."

"The forces of peace," he declared, "are unconquerable. For, on their side stand the entire progressive mankind, all people of goodwill."

Touching on the events in Poland, Mr Shevardnadze said that the entirely internal affairs of the Polish people are being used by imperialism to further aggravate the international tension, to increase confrontation with the world of socialism."

The Soviet Union, he declared, is deeply interested in the restoration of normal life in Poland. Unlike the USA and NATO, we do not interfere in Polish affairs. But, as has been stated by L.I. Brezhnev, "let no one count that socialism will not defend itself. It will, and with all decisiveness."

In conclusion, the leader of the CPSU delegation stressed the 'vital importance for mankind to do everything possible in order to prevent war, to embark again on the path of consolidation of detente in international relations and stable peaceful coexistence.'

"This" he declared, "constitutes the main direction of the unrelenting efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet State. This is the aim of the Peace Programme for 80's adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress and of the other Soviet initiatives."

25 Mar Proceedings

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Varanasi, March 25--The debate on the draft political resolution and the draft review report at the 12th congress of the CPI was over today.

Briefing newsmen on today's proceedings central executive member H.K. Vyas said that all the 29 delegates, who spoke on the two documents, supported the party's present policy of simultaneously fighting the domestic policies of Mrs Indira Gandhi government and the BJP. They endorsed its continuance.

The congress adopted a number of resolutions today, including one on Kerala and another on the growing threat to the security to our subcontinent.

The resolution on national security called upon all patriots and peace-loving people to get together to unitedly meet the national danger 'posed by US imperialists, the Pak military dictatorship and the Maoist rulers of China.' It said nuclear bombers at Diego Garcia, the US armada in the Indian Ocean and the Rapid Deployment Force were being mobilised to subvert the freedom of our nation, and other littoral states of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Chinese missiles have been stationed in Tibet and aimed at Indian cities, it added.

Bangladesh

The congress expressed deep concern over the developments in Bangladesh. It said Bangladesh has been under perpetual instability since Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's assassination, and the Washington-Pindi-Peking axis has turned that country into a pawn in its global strategy. "Military takeover in Bangladesh can only further aggravate the problems which that country faces," it added.

Another resolution, expressed its solidarity with the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and in support of Namibia. The congress also appealed to the party and the working class to observe the 100th birth anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov which falls on 18 June, 1902.

Kerala

The resolution on Kerala congratulated the parties of the Left and Democratic Front having defeated the conspiracies of the Centre and the Congress-I leadership to foist a minority ministry on the State in flagrant violation of the Constitution. It decried the horse-trading done by the Cong-I to secure majority in the Assembly, and its survival by the casting vote of the Speaker was something unprecedented in India's constitutional history, it added.

The resolution demanded immediate elections in the State.

During the debate, delegates stressed the need for countering propaganda by communal and rightist forces like Vishwa Hindu Sammelan and Jamaat-e-Islami.

Members, especially from West Bengal reported the "increasing cooperation between the CPI and the CPI-M" in their States.

Mr Vyas told newsmen that delegates reported that efforts by Mr S.A. Dange to form a "parallel party" has ended in failures in their States. For example, of the 9,000 CPI members in Assam, the group could only attract the support of 80.

Mr Vyas said Mr Dange's all-India Communist Party was a "non-starter." It can at best be called a "splinter group," he added.

Delegate Dead

Mr Ganga Prasad Choubey, a delegate from Madhya Pradesh to the Congress died of a massive heart attack here last night, adds UNI. He was cremated today.

26 Mar Proceedings

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Varanasi, March 26--The 12th CPI congress today made it clear that in no circumstances it would enter into a political alliance with the Congress-I, even though it might stand by the ruling party against external threat to the country.

This stand became clear with the acceptance of a non-official amendment to the paragraph in the draft political resolution which deals with the question of "peace and war, defence of national sovereignty and integrity, anti-imperialist tasks, question of rational integration and opposition to divisive and communal forces."

The draft resolution had said that in these tasks, cooperation between the CPI and other left parties and some bourgeois parties, including the Congress-I or some section of these parties is "possible and necessary."

Even though the draft resolution itself had limited the sphere of cooperation on issues of national importance, transcending party differences, the leadership of the party today accommodated the section of delegates which wanted further clarification on this issue.

The amendment and accepted draft resolution said. "We are for unity of the left and democratic forces, together with all patriotic and peace loving forces for preventing a Third World War and also to face the external threat to our country. There is no question, however of any political alliance with the Congress-I."

The acceptance on this amendment without any opposition from any section of the delegates emphasised the unity of party on this issue.

Other Amendments

Another amendment which was accepted sought to remove the apparent contradictions between the national tasks and the class tasks as explained in the draft political resolution, adds UNI.

The new formulation said: "Today national, international and class tasks are so closely inter-related that they have to be taken up together for defending the interests of the people as well as the security of the country."

The commission also adopted an amendment, which called upon all units of the CPI to organise "a sustained national campaign for popularising its programmes, organising broad movements and struggles for realising urgent popular demands, building mass organisations, extending the independent strength of the party, strengthening left unity and increasingly projecting left and democratic alternative as the only real way for taking our country and people out of the deepening crisis of the capitalist path."

Discussions of the three commissions were expected to be concluded in the evening. The reports of the commissions would be discussed in plenary tomorrow afternoon when the documents, as amended, would be accepted by the party Congress.

27 Mar Proceedings

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Varanasi, March 27 (UNI)--The draft political resolution was adopted without any basic changes by the commission of the 12th party congress of the CPI here tonight.

The commission, which had been discussing the draft resolution, considered about 300 amendments and accepted 50 of them, totally or partially.

Party spokesman Indrajit Gupta told newsmen that none of these amendments affected the basic formulations of the draft resolution.

Three commissions, which were discussing the draft political resolution, the draft review report and draft organisation report, have completed their work. Reports of these commissions were now being discussed in the plenary session of the congress where they were likely to be adopted.

Mr Gupta said there was a "high degree of political unification" in the party, with hardly any dissenting voices.

He said the basic line of the party was to ceaselessly work for building left and democratic unity, to fight the anti-democratic and anti-people policies of Mrs Indira Gandhi's government, as well as to fight the imperialist war-mongers and their allies who were endangering world peace and security of India. While fighting the anti-democratic and anti-people policies of the Cong-I government the CPI would not have any political alliance with the RSS-BJP.

Mr Gupta said there were 107 amendments to the review report of which 35 were adopted. There were 107 amendments to the organisational report of which the commission discussed and adopted 51.

Mr Gupta said an official amendment to abolish the post of the party chairman would be moved in the plenary session.

The post of party chairman had been vacant since Mr S.A. Dange's resignation in 1980 and his subsequent expulsion from the party in April 1981.

The report of the credentials committee of the party, which was adopted today by the party congress, expressed concern over the slow growth of the party's influence among students, youth and women. It also expressed concern over growing old age of the party's leading cadres, who constituted about 43 per cent of the delegates.

The report pointed out that the party membership as on 31 January, 1981 stood at 4,67,623. One out of every four delegates was attending the congress for the first time.

An analysis of the age group of delegates showed that 293 of them (20.08 per cent) belonged to the age of up to 35. The sizeable number of delegates, numbering 573, belonged to the age group of 51 and above. Of them, 198 were above 60.

Of the delegates, 186 (13.18 percent) were of working class origin, 53 labourers and 263 poor peasants. However, 497 delegates (35.28 per cent) were from the middle class.

Among the delegates and alternate delegates totalling 1,411, only 68 were women, though this reflected some increase since the Bhatinda congress. The report observed that "this was extremely low and should cause concern."

Tomorrow, the congress will elect a new National Council which in turn will select a general-secretary on Monday. The congress ends formally tomorrow with a mass rally.

Congress Ends, Rally Held

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Varanasi, March 28 (PTI)--CPI General Secretary C. Rajeshwara Rao today cautioned people against the imperialist forces who did not like that India and Pakistan live in peace.

By arming Pakistan with sophisticated weapons they were strengthening the hands of the military regime in Pakistan, he said.

Addressing a largely attended public meeting here this evening, Mr Rao called for unity of the Left and democratic forces together with all patriotic and peace forces to frustrate the evil designs of the US to disrupt stability in this region.

It was unfortunate that some political parties did not see danger in American arms to Pakistan. But they raise their eyebrows against the USSR and treat Moscow as the enemy of the country, who stood by our side at the time of crisis, he said.

Earlier, a huge procession led by the party general secretary and top leaders paraded the main thoroughfares of the city and converged into a public meeting at Benia Park.

More than three lakhs of people carrying party placards and raising slogans walked the seven km route to reach the park.

Besides top party leaders, representatives from 36 countries including the Soviet Union, Cuba, Hungary, Romania, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Denmark, Britain, Palestine and Bangladesh were seated on a tastefully decorated dais.

Mr E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the political bureau of the CPSU who made a brief speech assured his country's total support in fighting imperialist forces and neo-colonialism.

Despite different political system in India and Russia "we are together in maintaining peace and stability in the world," he said.

Mr Rao said Mrs Gandhi had utterly failed to check the price rise, unemployment and poverty. It was due to her "anti-people policies which drove half of the country's population below the poverty line he said.

He said people had a sad experience of Janata rule and now they will not tolerate the BJP, a 'rabidly communal and pro-capitalist party.

He struck a note of caution against the alleged designs of Mrs Gandhi to replace the parliamentary democracy by the presidential form of government.

New Line

The congress concluded here today with a call for unanimously adopting a new political line for building a Left and a democratic alternative to the Congress-I government headed by Indira Gandhi and electing a 138-member national council to guide the party.

Addressing the concluding session, Mr Rao said the party congress had set four main tasks before the CPs for the coming period.

These are: to fight for world peace and defence and security of the country, to organise people in struggles against the 'anti-people and anti-democratic policies' of the Government and for the betterment of their livelihood, to build Left and democratic unity and to fight against the Indira Gandhi Government and right reactionary forces: and to extend the base of the CPI.

Mr Rao was confident that the party would be politically and organisationally capable of carrying out this task.

Thousands of agricultural labourers, poor peasants and party sympathisers had poured into the city from the adjoining districts to participate in the mass rally held in the evening.

In the new national council, 125 are full members and 13 are alternate members. The congress has elected 29 members for the first time.

According to the party constitution, about 20 per cent of the old members are dropped. None of the party's top leaders are dropped from the national council which is meeting tomorrow to elect a new central executive committee, the general secretariat and the general secretary of the party.

Mr Rajeshwara Rao is likely to be re-elected unanimously as the general secretary, according to party sources.

Amendments Adopted, Post Abolished

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Varanasi, March 28--The amendments adopted by the 12th CPI congress today indicate a firmer resolve by the party to win over the masses, so far following the Cong-I to Left democratic positions because it was convinced that it was the only way to solve national problems.

The amendment stressed that "the fast growing contradiction between the bourgeois rule and the people is bringing over larger sections of the masses into increasingly sharp conflict with the Congress-I Government and its policies. This is giving rise to unprecedentedly wide-spread mass and class struggle."

Stressing the need to mobilise the masses for these struggles, the resolution said, 'Today national and internal tasks are so closely integrated that they have to be taken up together for defending the interests of the people as well as the security of our country.'

By another amendment the CPI congress made clear that in matters of foreign policy it stood for the 'nationally accepted foreign policy of nonalignment, anti-imperialism, peace, friendship with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and other progressive regimes.'

The amendment dropped the phrase "to defend the Government's foreign policy." The amended resolution said that the party will fight back the attacks from the BJP and other reactionary, pro-imperialist circles on the nationally attacked foreign policies pursued by the Government. It, however, stressed that "at the same time the party must combat the weakness or vacillation in the foreign policy of the Government."

No Chairman

The party congress had earlier adopted an official amendment to the party constitution, abolishing the post of party chairman. This post had been created in the united party in 1962 after the death of the then general secretary

Mr Ajoy Ghosh Party veteran S.A. Dange had been holding the post since then, till his resignation in 1980 and subsequent expulsion from the party in 1981.

The general secretary will hereafter be the topmost party functionary.

No Alliances

A senior party leader told UNI today that the party was never before so unified both politically and organisationally. The 'ghost of Dangeism' had been laid to rest at Varanasi,' he said.

A study of the amendments approved and rejected showed that the party congress wanted to focus, as the main task of the CPI, the organisation of struggles against the anti-democratic and the anti-people policies of the Congress-I and building a Left and democratic alternative to it. An amendment which was accepted by the congress, has unambiguously stated that the CPI would have no political alliance with the Congress-I.

The CPI resolution has pointed out that the building of the left unity, and specially the unity of the CPI and the CPI-M, was essential for building this Left and democratic alternative. It has stressed for a 'new and higher level unity in action between the CPI and the CPI-M.

Another important amendment demarcated the CPI attitude towards the international communist movement as against that of the CPI-M. The amendment stated that while the party would strive for building a left and democratic alternative and left unity it unflinchingly adhered to the commonly agreed conclusions of international meetings of the communist and workers parties held in 1957, 1960 and 1969. The CPI would fight against Maoism Euro-communism, and similar other alien trends. The CPI considered the Communist Party of Soviet Union as a vanguard of the world communist movement.

Our Special Correspondent further adds: CPI leader Indrajit Gupta claimed here yesterday that after six days deliberations and discussions on political developments and draft political resolution, the CPI was 'more united than ever before.'

Mr Gupta was briefing the press after the three-party commissions, on political resolution, review of political developments and party activities and organisational commission had presented their reports to the preliminary session of 12th congress.

Mr Gupta said that though 50 amendments in the draft political resolution had been accepted by the political commission there was no substantial change in the draft political resolution. The party stood committed to build up a left and democratic unity as alternative to Congress, particularly the unity of CPI and CPM.

He said that the amendments accepted by the commission were elaboration or clarification of certain points already mentioned in the draft political resolutions. Some amendments were only verbal.

He refuted the reports in a section of press that there was any 'softness' towards Prime Minister Indira Gandhi or that the CPI was less keen on unity of CPI and CPM.

Mr Gupta said that anti-left forces in the country were afraid of CPI-CPM unity and were therefore floating all sorts of rumours to sow suspicion between the two parties. The amendments in the political resolution had further clarified that the CPI will work for unity of leftist forces as alternative to anti-democratic and anti-people Congress.

He said that the discussions had only revealed high degree of political unification of the party members. Those who had 'serious difference' with this line had left the party. There was no question of any difference as the task of building up an alternative to Congress-I and uniting all patriotic forces against imperialist manoeuvres and manipulation were 'interrelated.'

The commitment of CPI for left and democratic unity was further revealed by the resolution on 'working class actions' which characterised the 19 January strike all over the country as 'golden page in the annals of history of working class action in India.' This was the first general strike after independence.

Despite all threats held out by the Government and despite the arrest of over 50,000 activists throughout the country and despite determined opposition of Congress dominated INTUC and despite free use of police and anti-social elements against the striking workers over 60 per cent of working class down tools for 24 hours.

The strike demonstrated that working class is determined to fight unitedly to bring about a change in the retrograde, pro-Monopoly, anti-worker policies of the Government.

By a resolution the 12th congress called upon all secular and democratic sections of the people to expose, isolate and defeat politically and ideologically communal forces of all types.

It criticised the RSS Jamaat-e-Islami and some foreign Christian missionaries for spreading communal poison and dividing the people.

It said that after the return of the Congress-I to power communal forces had raised their head in a big way threatening unity of people.

Communal carnages were organised against Muslim minority in Moradabad, Aligarh, Allahabad, Biharsharif and Baroda. In Hyderabad Muslim communal forces also added fuel to the fire. The RSS, BJP are using the issue of conversion at Meenakshipuram, where a few Harijans faced with upper caste social repression took to Islam, in order to rally all sorts of Hindu revivalists in the name of saving Hindu religion.

The main force of Hindu Virat Sammelan at Delhi or the procession organised by Vishwa Hindu Parishad at Poona, Sholapur and other towns leading to attack on minorities was that RSS, BJP.

Commentary on Significance

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Mar 82 p 2

[Commentary by V. D. Chopra: "Significance of Varanasi"]

[Text]

ANYONE who has been watching the Left movement in India, particularly the Communist movement in recent years, the CPI congress at Varanasi would lead him to the conclusion that the Left in our country is emerging as a powerful political factor and is no more merely a catalyst. That even the conformist national press and the regional papers gave such an extensive coverage to the congress, of course, with their own interpretations, is in itself an admission of this fact. The reasons for this are obvious.

The political policy of the CPI, which was hammered out at Varanasi after serious and business-like deliberations for a week, has become the focus of national attention because after the Congress (I), it is the CPI which is the biggest national force spread all over the country. Unlike all other Opposition parties, it is only the CPI which has a national character, though in terms of mass influence, it is still a small force. In fact, the CPI leaders are justified in claiming that their mass influence and their capacity to move the masses cannot merely be judged by the number of seats won by them in the last elections. It is only one of the indicators of their strength, though an important indicator. Even its bitter critics would admit that it has the potentiality of emerging as a major political force in the coming period, provided it evolves a mass-oriented political policy, keeping in mind the concrete realities of India and the existing correlation of forces. It is precisely this exercise which the Varanasi congress of the CPI undertook.

This also partially explains why such a big contingent of the leaders of the Communist movement and of the liberation movements came to attend this Congress. That India occupies a pivotal position in the

existing explosive world situation is a well known fact. It is, therefore, but natural that the leaders of the Communist Parties and the liberation movements from the various parts of the globe should have attended this congress to have a clear picture of what is happening in this sub-continent. As many as 40 countries sent their delegates to this congress—from Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and above all from some of the neighbouring countries.

The CPI has today a membership of 4.90 lakhs. This, in itself is a significant figure because it is a cadre-based party. This membership of the CPI is spread over 23 States and nine Union Territories organised in over 30 thousand branches. Equally important is the fact that out of 608 districts in India, the CPI has district committees in as many as 380 districts. The membership of the mass organisations in which these CPI members work runs into over 60 lakhs—nearly 10 lakhs less than the votes polled by the party during the last Lok Sabha elections. In fact if both the CPI and the CPI (M) draw closer to each other (and there are no reasons to believe that after the Varanasi congress, this would not happen) the two parties with over eight lakh active members can emerge a formidable force. Undoubtedly, this will depend in the final analysis on the political policy of the Indian Communists, primarily of the CPI—a point to which we will come later.

Nonetheless, it is certain that certain internal and external forces, which are against the radical transformation of the Indian economy and do not want our great country to become a major self-reliant power in this region are vitally interested that the Indian Communists should remain divided and the chasm

between them and other democratic forces should be widened. It is a different matter how they are going about it through various levers to achieve this objective.

How did the Varanasi Congress of the CPI grapple with this problem?

Though it is wrong to reduce political policies to simple formulas or present them in geometrical terms, the Varanasi policy of the CPI can be equated with a triangle. On one side of this triangle stands the 'PT' stand on the foreign policy of the country—a stand about which there is no ambiguity. This was reiterated in the Party congress again and again.

That explains why as one of the important resolutions of the congress has put it the CPI "fully supports the policy of non-alignment and anti-imperialism, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, defence of India's sovereignty, independence and integrity, and of solidarity with the liberation movements and the just struggles against colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism and Zionism pursued by Indira Gandhi's Government."

There is nothing new in it. However, the wording of the resolution is quite significant.

In fact in the draft political resolution of the party, it has been clearly spelt out that on some of the questions such as 'national integration and firm opposition to divisive and communal forces, on secularism and defence of minorities', cooperation between the CPI and other Left parties and "some bourgeois parties including the Congress (I) or some sections of these parties is both possible and necessary". However, the final stand on this sensitive question will only become clear after the political resolution is officially released. A large num-

ber of amendments to this resolution were moved. Some of them were rejected and others were partially or wholly accepted.

Whatever may be the final shape of the political resolution, the triangle of the CPI policy, in which on one side is its attitude towards certain policies of the Congress (I), particularly its foreign policy, on the other side its determination to fight its internal economic policies of the ruling party and in that process build what it calls the 'Left and democratic alternative' and on the third side is its deep conviction to oppose all rightist forces particularly the Bharatiya Janata Party, the party's attitude towards the Congress (I) perhaps dominated the deliberations of the Congress.

Though it is difficult to objectively assess which of the three sides of the "triangle" is more important than the other two or whether in the perception of the CPI, all these sides are equally important, what is relevant to mention here is that the era of "special relationship" between the CPI and the Congress and now the Congress (I) has ended at least for the time being. This chapter has been closed.

This position of the CPI cannot be interpreted in terms of 'softening' or 'hardening' of political attitudes. This presentation of the problem only takes into account the psyche of the CPI and not its political assessment. In fact now a period has begun when a new type of political relationship between the ruling party and the Indian Left is being restructured—firm support on some issues and determined opposition on internal

economic policies. There are objective reasons for this.

The relationship between the two political parties, particularly a multi-class ruling party and a Left Party are not determined by "likes and dislikes" of an individual leader, though it plays an important part. They are determined essentially by the policies and above all by the aspirations and mood of the masses following a party.

It has to be admitted that the Congress (I) today is not what it was in the early seventies. There is a marked change in its policies and in the perception of the CPI, this change in the internal policies is rightward—a point which has been dealt with at length in its documents.

Closely related with this aspect is that the composition of the Congress (I) both at the Centre and in the States is undergoing a change. The Left inclined Congressmen have either been eased out of the party or made ineffective in the assessment of the CPI.

Thirdly, the Congress (I) organisation exist only on paper. It hardly functions and thus in between the leadership and the masses, there are no links. Thus the aspirations of the masses following the Congress (I) are not playing a major role in influencing and moulding the policies of the ruling party.

The Left obviously cannot be happy over this state of affairs because the disintegration of the biggest and the oldest political party of the country would only create a political vacuum. On the other hand, the CPI had to pay a very heavy price for its identification with the ruling

party during the emergency period.

Besides this, the masses following the CPI cadres at the grassroots level are articulating this mood of the masses. That is why they are in a fighting mood and do not want to relent in the struggle against the Congress (I).

All these factors combined together have thrown up new problems.

The CPI has shown its hand at the Varanasi congress. Now it is turn of the Congress (I). Whether or not, it takes some measures to give relief to the people would determine to a large degree the future course of developments. If it does not, the masses will act and the Indian Left would spearhead them. This is what is meant by the statement that now the Congress (I) should show its hand.

Party Leaders Elected

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 30 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] Varanasi, March 29 (PTI)--Mr C. Rajeswara Rao was reelected the general secretary of the Communist Party of India by the National Council here today.

According to a party spokesman, the election of Mr Rao was unanimous for the sixth consecutive term.

Eight secretaries to the National Council were also elected. The new entrants are Mr F. Faruki and Mr A.B. Bardhar.

Others are Mr N.K. Krisanan, Mr Indrajit Gupta, Mr Rajyashekhar Reddy, Mr M.N. Govindan Nair, Mr Jagannath Sarkar and Mr Indradeep Sinha.

Mr N. Giriprasad, Mr P. Manickam, Mr M.S. Krishnan and Mr Pramod Gogoi were elected to the 31-member National Executive Committee.

The committee consists of a general secretary, eight secretaries and 22 members.

With the abolition of the post of party chairman which was held by Mr S.A. Dange till his resignation in 1980 and subsequent expulsion from the party in 1981 the general secretary will now be the top-most party functionary.

CSO: 4220/7056

COMMENTATORS ASSESS STATE OF RELATIONS WITH USSR

G.K. Reddy Commentary

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy: "Will CPI Heed Moscow on Ties With Cong. (I)?"]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 23.

It is now pretty clear that, in attempting to strengthen its military supply relationship with India with offers of the latest weapons systems for its defence, the Soviet Union has been making a simultaneous effort to reassess its political equation with Mrs. Gandhi's Government in the light of her growing discord with both the communist parties in the country.

According to well-placed sources here, the timing of Marshal Ustinov's visit was not without some high political purpose, in the sense that it took place on the eve of the Varanasi congress of the Communist Party of India, which is now going through an agonising reappraisal of its attitude towards Mrs. Gandhi and her Government.

It is precisely for this reason that Mrs. Gandhi's advisers are closely watching the CPI leadership's tight-rope walking at Varanasi to see whether there has, indeed, been any softening of its hostility towards her, or whether the latest dilution of some of the harsher formulations used at the last party congress at Bhatinda in 1978 is only a facade for impressing her that, whatever the nature of their differences with her on domestic issues, the communists are ready to play their part in helping her to sustain the special character of Indo-Soviet relations.

The Prime Minister herself is not jumping to any abrupt conclusions about their real intentions based on first impressions, until the official agencies dealing with communist affairs have analysed the Varanasi resolution of the CPI, then compared it with the stand taken by the CPI-M at Vijayawada recently and drawn the necessary inferences about the scope and purpose of the new tactical line.

Common interest

The Government of India is well aware that the Soviet advice to the CPI, and to some extent even to the CPI-M, has been that the left forces in India should strive for a reasonably good working relationship with the Congress (I) in common interest, if only

to prevent rightist parties from exploiting their differences. One of the top CPI leaders did go to Moscow recently for party level discussions on the present Indian situation.

The Soviet Vice-President, Mr. Kuznetsov, who visited India a few months ago as leader of a parliamentary delegation, did stress repeatedly during his private talks in Delhi that there was much greater need now than ever before for left and democratic unity in view of the worsening security environment in the region. It is not known whether Marshal Ustinov had the opportunity to broach the subject, since he was primarily engaged in military level discussions.

If he did, it could have been done only when he met Mrs. Gandhi without any aides for more than an hour. But it is no, her style to encourage such political or ideological dissertations by visiting dignitaries, however highly placed, who have come primarily to discuss defence requirements and exchange views on security problems as part of an on-going arrangement.

Why 'no' to Ustinov

If she did not host a lunch in honour of the Soviet Defence Minister, as she offered to do in the case of the U.S. Secretary of State, it is because Mrs. Gandhi wanted to get the message across that she would like the Ustinov visit to be handled strictly at the military level with the minimum of political overtones. In any case it is not her intention to let the Soviet leaders dabble in India's internal politics in the name of offering their good offices to bring the Congress (I) and the communist parties closer again.

It is well known that the continued estrangement of the CPI from the Congress (I) is only one aspect of the Soviet uneasiness over the present policies of Mrs. Gandhi's Government. The Kremlin has been quite unhappy over India's attempts to improve relations with the U.S., the decision to seek the big loan from the International Monetary Fund, the tendency to delay the abrogation of the Tarpur agreement, the policy of diversifying its arms purchases and criticising the Soviet action in Afghanistan even while refusing to

line up with other countries in denouncing the intervention.

The Soviet Government has been no less disenchanted with India's increasing reluctance to make any laudatory references to the Indo-Soviet treaty which in Moscow's view serves as the very basis of the friendship and cooperation between the two peoples. The fact that Mrs. Gandhi has not yet returned the Soviet President Mr. Brezhnev's visit has also been a sore point with Moscow.

In this situation there is very little scope for Moscow to play any worthwhile role in bringing Mrs. Gandhi's Congress and the two communist parties closer again. But those who are well acquainted with all the complexities of Indo-Soviet relations do not rule out some degree of understanding between them at least in the sphere of foreign relations, although the real test of the communist attitude towards her will be the extent to which the CPI and the CPI-M will be prepared to go in defending her against the onslaughts of rightist forces.

The ideologues of the Soviet bloc countries feel that it is necessary for the Indian communists

to come to terms with Mrs. Gandhi and dig in their toes while she is still supreme on the Indian scene. As they see no alternative to her during this decade, at least in the 1985 elections, the Soviet theoreticians also share the view that the Indian communists must not make the fatal mistake of moving away from her to the point of unwittingly letting the rightist parties fill the vacuum.

So the argument runs that the two communist parties should reunite not only in their own national interest but also in the context of the wider inter-action of international forces, to be able to project themselves as one of the credible alternatives who can compete with the rightists from a position of strength when the time comes for it. And it is this mixture of ideology and psychology, politics and tactics, that is encouraging CPI-watchers to attach a sort of historical importance to the CPI's deliberations at Varanasi in the belief that both India and the Soviet Union, and by the same token China and the United States, have a vital stake in its outcome.

Inder Malhotra Commentary

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Mar 82 p 8

[Commentary by Inder Malhotra: "India and the Soviet Union--The Ustinov Visit and After"]

[Text]

NEARLY a week after his return home, Marshal Ustinov's visit to this country can be discussed more objectively and in better perspective than was possible amidst the perfervid reaction in the West to his arrival in New Delhi at the head of the largest and most high-powered military delegation ever to leave the Soviet Union. It is also possible to sort out incontrovertible facts from a welter of conjectures, propaganda, innuendoes, insinuations, half-truths and downright falsehoods, that held the field both before and during the Soviet defence minister's sojourn in India.

For instance, there can be no denying that it was this country which formally renewed the long-standing invitation to Marshal Ustinov about a month before his arrival here. One reason for doing so was Mr. R. Venkataraman's appointment as full-time defence minister. New Delhi had known all along that, left to himself, Marshal Ustinov would have liked to have come much earlier but was

deterred primarily by the protocol problems likely to arise from the fact that the defence portfolio in this country was held by Mrs. Gandhi herself and there was only a minister of state to assist her. Thus it was no surprise that the Soviet defence minister accepted the renewed invitation with alacrity and lost no time in fixing the dates of his visit.

Sheer Size

What did come as a surprise, however, was the sheer size of his delegation and the larger-than-life build-up that the Soviet media started giving his mission, inevitably engendering intense speculation, especially in the West, in which diplomats joined as gleefully as the journalists. It was against this background that both the defence ministry and the foreign office in New Delhi took steps, to discourage wild conjecturing that was going on. Whether this was an attempt to play down the visit or to put it into proper perspective is a matter of opinion. But the fact remains that the

behind-the-scenes exercise, which remained secret for no more than half an hour, had a salutary effect.

Instead of being converted into a major political and public relations exercise with a highly visible demonstrative effect, the visit reverted to its primary function of providing an opportunity for a frank and friendly discussion on the on-going Indo-Soviet cooperation. The high point of this was the 90-minute meeting between the visiting dignitary and the Prime Minister. But, for all practical purposes, the substantive talks took place on the defence minister-to-defence minister level, thus separating politics from defence supplies. Indeed, the entire visit was handled by the defence ministry and not the foreign office though the Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr. V. K. Ahuja, was among Mr. Venkataraman's aides.

If this disappointed Marshal Ustinov, he did not show his disappointment. On the contrary, at his return banquet to Mr. Ven-

kataraman at the Soviet embassy he was not only relaxed but ebullient. Before his departure for Moscow he expressed his satisfaction over the outcome of his visit.

It is also noteworthy that the utmost courtesy was extended to Marshal Ustinov. For instance, he was put up at Rashtrapati Bhavan where normally only heads of state and heads of government stay. As it happens, the same courtesy was shown to his predecessor, the late Marshal Grechko. But then, had there been any intention to play down the latest visit, different arrangements could have been made for Marshal Ustinov's stay. After all, the Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Gromyko, who, like Marshal Ustinov, is a member of the Soviet politburo, stayed at Rashtrapati Bhavan only once — in 1971 — and has been put up elsewhere during all his subsequent visits.

Altogether, it is no exaggeration to say that in some strange way the Ustinov visit, in both style and content, has been entirely symbolic of the present state of Indo-Soviet relations. Since these are a little more complex than is made out by the simpletons in the White House and the Pentagon — according to whom this country is Russia's "military ally" — the situation needs to be summed up bluntly.

Friendship with the Soviet Union remains a crucial ingredient of Indian foreign policy because the consistent Soviet support to Indian security is as welcome as it is vital. But this relationship has nothing to do with either ideology or sentiment. It is based entirely on the compatibility of the national interests of the two sides. And while India and Russia need each other, neither can it should take the other for granted.

This is the message Mrs. Gandhi has tried to convey, through the Ustinov visit, to not only Moscow but also other world capitals and she has reiterated it in her question-answer session with the top British editors in London.

More specifically, the feeling in New Delhi, which Marshal Ustinov could not have failed to sense, is that the enduring nature of Indo-Soviet friendship is no reason to brush under the carpet either the differences between the two countries over Afghanistan or other problems.

Several Signals

Mrs. Gandhi has given Mos-

cow several signals of her unhappiness with some features of the Indo-Soviet relationship since her return to power. For instance, during the last two years she has visited a large number of countries spread over all the five continents, but the Soviet Union has yet to be included in her itinerary. Soon after returning to power, she asked her partymen to dissociate themselves from organisations like the ISCUS, which are backed by both the Soviets and the Moscow-backed CPI, and to form parallel bodies such as the Friends of Soviet Union. The celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Indo-Soviet treaty in August last were in a low key. And so on.

The message could not have been lost on Moscow. The Prime Minister is evidently concerned that the CPI's opposition to her has Soviet blessings. Undoubtedly a fresh debate is going on at this precise moment within the CPI at its Congress in Varanasi. But no one yet knows what its outcome will be. At the same time the CPM, with which the CPI is anxious to join hands, has simultaneously moved closer to Moscow and declared Mrs. Gandhi its "principal enemy". What line the CPI eventually hammers out in this difficult situation remains to be seen. But, according to one of the informed sources in the ruling party, both the CPM and CPI are agreed on the need for a "left democratic alliance" directed against Mrs. Gandhi and the only difference between the two is over whether or not the BJP should be invited to join the proposed alliance!

On the other hand, the policy of opting for western arms, such as British Jaguars, West German submarines and the French Mirage-2000s, has nothing to do with any unhappiness with Moscow or doubts about the Soviet Union's reliability as the largest single source of arms supplies to India. It is simply that the government considers the diversification of sources of defence equipment to be, like honesty, the best policy.

In any case, western sources can at best supplement Soviet supplies of armaments, they cannot supplant the Soviet Union in this respect. The reason for this is simple. Some armaments are just now available from western sources and the West is almost always unable to match the attractive Soviet terms. It is quite on the cards therefore that the

Russian offer of later versions of tanks, MiG aircraft and missiles, made during the Ustinov visit, might be taken up at an appropriate time later. For the present a new arms deal is not considered necessary.

Bogged Down

Three other factors deserve attention because they are germane to Indo-Soviet relations and their future. First, the Soviet Union is bogged down in Afghanistan and Poland and bedevilled by severe economic difficulties. Its capacity to help India is therefore extremely limited and this situation is aggravated by the relative backwardness of Soviet technology (except in the military field) and Russia's own need to import advanced technology from western countries and Japan. The other side of the coin is that the scope for increasing Indian exports to Russia is immense if only because the Soviet Union needs consumer goods and has piled up huge balance of rupees because of its exports of oil to this country. In fact the Russians have offered to buy 500 m metres of cloth every year for the next two decades. If this deal can be clinched it would be the biggest ever transaction of its kind.

Secondly, the Soviet Union is now clearly going through a difficult transition as the Brezhnev era is coming to a somewhat painful end. All the members of the Russian politburo are themselves rather old. Therefore no matter who wins the current battle of succession, a stable new leadership in the Kremlin can be expected only in the time of Mr. Brezhnev's successor's successor.

In the foreseeable future, however, Marshal Ustinov is likely to play an even more important role than he does now and, to that extent, the opportunity he has had to get to know the Indian leaders may prove beneficial to both countries.

The third factor is in some ways crucial. The longer the Soviet troops stay in Afghanistan the greater embarrassment they will become to this country and other friends of the Soviet Union in the third world. It is not for nothing that in its reference to Afghanistan the external affairs ministry's annual report has placed equal emphasis on the withdrawal of foreign troops and cessation of foreign interference from all sides.

CPI-M POLITBURO MEMBER HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Mar 82 p 3

[Text]

PEOPLE'S response to the CPI (M)'s call in the Hindi speaking belt, covering Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, is far more favourable now than in any other time in the past. But the party is unable to reach the people because of dearth of workers and financial resources.

This assessment of the party's position in north India was made at a Press conference in Calcutta on Tuesday by the CPI (M)'s Politburo member, Mr M. Basavapunnalah, who along with the party general secretary, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, addressed earlier the West Bengal committee meeting of the party.

Mr Basavapunnalah admits the weakness of the Left parties in the all-India scene, but their strength, he argues, lies in the fact that while they have a definite alternative programme in dealing with basic questions like unemployment and inflation, other Opposition parties cannot offer such a programme.

The CPI (M), he said, had not been able to hold meetings or demonstrations in Delhi over the past 20 years. Only recently it had been able to do so and the participants were mainly from the neighbouring Hindi-speaking areas. The party's central leadership had urged the units of the politically advanced States like West Bengal and Kerala to help the backward areas with men and resources.

Regarding the prospect of the CPI (M) and the CPI coming closer, he said the people wanted them to do so and the leaders of both the parties should respect their sentiment. Referring to the CPI's Varanasi congress he said the CPI could not go back from its Bhatinda congress, it must go forward.

Mr Basavapunnalah admitted that there were differences within the party because it was a living organization. Differences were thrashed out through constant discussions and this made possible for the party to evolve a unified stand on all basic questions at its Vijayawada congress.

The CPI (M) leader feels that much has been made out of the differences between his party and the CPI over their attitude to the Bharatiya Janata Party. Both the parties have agreed to work with the BJP in Parliament and in their frontal organizations.

Mr Namboodiripad and Mr Basavapunnalah reported the all-India situation and the programme of Left and democratic movement at the State committee meeting. Mr Jyoti Basu dwelt on the West Bengal political scene and the coming Assembly elections. The committee members discussed election matters and submitted the list of seats and the names of the CPI (M) candidates in each district.

It was decided that Mr Promode Dasgupta, who had returned from hospital, would go through the entire list of more than 200 CPI (M) candidates and place it before the party secretariat, which has been authorized to finalize the names of the candidates. After the discussion at the Left Front meeting on April 1 the CPI (M) list will be finalized. For the first time, district party secretaries will not be permitted to contest the elections. At present, there are four CPI (M) MLAs who are district party secretaries.

FOREIGN MINISTRY RELEASES 1981-82 ANNUAL REPORT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] The Reagan Administration's decision to supply sophisticated arms to Pakistan has aroused widespread apprehension and concern in India over peace and stability in the subcontinent, according to the External Affairs Ministry's annual report for 1981-82.

The report, which was released on Tuesday, holds that "this latest US military aid to Pakistan is bound to raise the threshold of confrontation in South Asia and to have a negative impact on the security environment of the region."

As regards the deteriorating security environment of India, the report observes: "The epicentre of world tensions has clearly shifted from Europe to Asia. This is evidenced by the frantic build-up of military and naval presences in the Indian Ocean, search for new allies or bases, formation of rapid deployment forces, the general situation in West Asia, the Gulf war between two non-aligned nations, the continuing problem in Afghanistan, plans to build-up a so-called strategic consensus in South-West and West Asia, including the induction of sophisticated weapons into Pakistan, and the lingering tensions in South-East Asia.

These developments have aggravated the security environment of India and placed fresh burdens on our economy, the report states.

Against this sombre background of worsening political, economic and security environment in Asia, the report underscores that India's foreign policy activity and initiatives were aimed at strengthening the non-aligned movement, improving relations with neighbours, preventing drift towards war and big power confrontations, arresting the nuclear arms race, reducing regional and international economic order.

Describing the rapid deterioration in East-West relations as the most important political development of 1981-82, the report says a new cold war, triggered by fear, suspicion and mistrust has begun to pervade all international relations. The decision to deploy more modern missiles has caused new fears in Europe.

Treaty

On relations with Pakistan, the report maintains that despite induction of sophisticated US weapons to Pakistan, India expressed its willingness to improve relations with Pakistan in the spirit of the Simla Agreement. A positive outcome of the talks on the no-war pact was the decision to set up a joint commission to review and promote bilateral Indo-Pak relations, it underlines, adding: "This initiative by India as well as the Prime Minister's statement that 'pact or no pact India will not attack Pakistan' were well received in Pakistan and other countries. The Prime Minister's offer of a friendship treaty with Pakistan was an important event."

Nevertheless, the report explains that the "positive atmosphere in India-Pakistan relations created by the discussions between the two Foreign Ministers in January was unhappily vitiated by Pakistan's attempt to raise the Kashmir issue in the UN Human Rights Commission, contrary to the principle of bilateralism enshrined in the Simla Agreement," as a result of which Foreign Secretary R.D. Sathe's visit to Islamabad had to be deferred.

Dealing with Indo-US relations, the report says: "The passage of proposals on the security assistance to Pakistan through the US Congress, which confirmed the administration's decision cast a shadow over bilateral relations which showed no signs of lifting at the year end."

Another issue of controversy between the two countries was the US decision to suspend shipments of fuel for the Tarapur Atomic Power Station in violation of the 1963 agreement.

Indian Ocean

The deterioration in the world situation as a result of sharpening of great power confrontation was manifested 'most acutely and dramatically' in the Indian Ocean and its littoral states, the report notes.

It points to the US maintenance of 'substantial naval presence' in the ocean and augmenting its forces in other ports 'including the conversion of Diego Garcia into a major naval base.' It further adds: "The USSR, France and Britain stepped up their presences in the region."

For these reasons India as also other littoral States were deeply concerned and had repeatedly called for turning the ocean into a zone of peace, it explains.

On Indo-Soviet relations, the report states: "As in the past, the Soviet Union showed understanding of the independent policy pursued by India, particularly its adherence to nonalignment. The record of friendship between India and the Soviet Union has proved the value of peaceful coexistence and cooperation."

The relations with the USSR and other East European States were marked by cordiality it adds.

Kampuchea

The report says India did not attend the international conference on Kampuchea because all countries of the region had not accepted the UN resolution.

"India felt that a conference, which accorded recognition to the inhuman, discredited Pol Pot regime, would hardly enhance the prospects of normalisation within that country."

On relations with China the report says that the visit of Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua last year had resulted in agreement that the boundary question was central to their relationship and an early settlement was desirable. The discussions however revealed that there continued to be 'wide differences' between the two sides.

Afghanistan

India endeavoured a stable and non-aligned Afghanistan was an imperative for maintenance of South Asia as an area of peace free from external push and pressures.

On the situation in Poland, the report says India made it clear that it was opposed to all forms of outside interference in the domestic affairs of any country.

It says India has followed an approach of good neighbourly relations with Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Burma and Bhutan.

The report says India's initiative in calling a conference of 44 developing countries called 'New Delhi consultations' had been welcomed by all participants. India hold the view that collective self-reliance among developing countries is an important factor in the progress towards north south cooperation.

CSO: 4220/7057

FOREIGN MINISTER COMMENTS ON BANGLADESH COUP

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 24--The External Affairs Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, told Parliament today that "according to such incomplete reports as are available, the situation in Bangladesh appeared to be under control.

Making a statement in both Houses of Parliament, Mr Rao said the Government was watching the situation carefully. "We consider these developments an internal matter of Bangladesh, and it is our expectation that nothing will happen which will affect our bilateral relations adversely."

India, he added, attached fundamental importance to peace, harmony and cooperation with all neighbours and stability in the sub-continent. "It is our hope that the continuing friendship and cooperation between India and Bangladesh will be maintained."

Mr Rao gave Parliament a brief narration of what had happened. He said: "Early this morning Lieutenant-General H.M. Ershad, Chief of Army Staff in Bangladesh, announced the suspension of the Constitution, the dissolution of the civil administration and Parliament, and the dismissal of the President and the Council of Ministers. Martial law has been declared over the entire country and General Ershad has been declared Chief Martial Law Administrator. Other appointments in the martial law administration have been made.

In the Rajya Sabha, members sought a Government statement on the latest situation in Bangladesh. Mr A. G. Kulkarni (CS) raised the issue when the House assembled during question hour.

Mr Pranab Mukherjee, leader of the House, said the Government could not make a statement unless it had all the facts.

Mr Manubhai Patel (J) referred to it during zero hour. He was supported by Mr Piloo Mody (J).

The Chairman, Mr M. Hidayatullah, said the Government could not make a statement without knowing all the facts.

Mr Rao told the House that there was no danger to minorities in Bangladesh. The Minister said Dacca airport was functioning normally and there was no disruption of air services.

CSO: 4220/7054

FOREIGN MINISTER: TALKS WITH PRC SOON

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Apr 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] India and China will resume talks on the border issue and other matters to improve bilateral relations when a Chinese delegation arrives here in the next two months time, External Affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao told the Lok Sabha on Wednesday.

Replying to a 12-hour debate on his Ministry's demands, which were later passed, Mr Rao denied members' charge that India was dragging its feet on the border issue. The fact was that both the sides had to do a lot of homework before sitting across the table to thrash out issues, he said.

An Indian delegation had recently been to China, he informed the House.

Dealing with the question of a no-war pact with Pakistan, Mr Rao said India had a history of no-war pacts. But it wanted the no-war pact with Pakistan to reflect abiding relationship between the two countries. He appealed to the members, 'Please bear with the Government...The question is how to go about it (the issue of no-war pact).'

In his reply, the External Affairs Minister dwelt mainly on the non-aligned concept and made brief but guarded reference to the situation in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Namibia, South-East Asia, the position of stateless people in Sri Lanka, West Asia and the South-South conference.

Pak Refusal

Dealing with Pakistan, which dominated the debate, Mr Rao revealed that during the official talks on the no-war pact last January, Pakistan had refused to give the guarantee that it would not allow any part of its soil to be used as a base by any foreign power on the ground that such a guarantee would amount to abridgement of its sovereignty.

Mr Rao said relations with Pakistan were presently at a 'crucial stage' and his Ministry was lately in possession of certain material on the subject which he did not want to disclose before the House at this stage.

"Let us first handle it. Then we will come to you. Nothing will be done behind the back of Parliament," he assured the members.

He said when India and Pakistan had exchanged their respective aide memories, the Indian document had wanted the relations to be based on the Simla Agreement, while the other side advocated the UN Charter as the basis. This was a strange argument because both the countries abided by the UN Charter. Let that could not constitute the foundation of Indo-Pak relations, replacing the Simla Agreement.

Mr Rao said since the episode of Pakistan raking up the Kashmir issue at the Un Commission on Human Rights in Geneva had been narrated in detail by the Indian delegate, Mr B.R. Bhagat, before the House, he did not want to go into it again. All he wished to remind was that the original document of the Geneva meet did not contain any reference to Jammu and Kashmir. Why it was sought to be introduced following Pindi efforts and again why it was removed later were matters on which it was necessary to take a hard look, he added.

Other Neighbours

About Bangladesh, Mr Rao said he was confident that the recent developments there would not affect the relationship between the two countries adversely.

Referring to Afghanistan, Mr Rao reiterated that withdrawal of Soviet troops was in the interest of all concerned and for that necessary climate had to be created. Being a non-aligned country all that India could do was to try to persuade the concerned parties to come to the negotiating table. During his visit to Delhi, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr Agha Shahi was optimistic about such a meeting taking place in the foreseeable future. But he heard nothing further.

Mr Rao assured the House that India was doing all that was possible to assist the people in Namibia and was prepared to do much more.

Gulf Conflicts

On Arab-Israeli conflict, Mr Rao said, the forthcoming non-aligned bureau meeting would discuss the latest situation and whatever decision was taken India would readily implement it.

As regards Kampuchea, Mr Rao said other countries were slowly realising that what India had done in recognising the Heng Samrin Government was the right decision in the circumstances.

The External Affairs Minister also told the House that efforts of the bureau to bring about peace between Iran and Iraq would be reviewed during his ensuing visit to Kuwait.

Mr Rao said non-alignment had become more relevant for India and Pakistan. As a neighbour, Pakistan should understand the movement as India did. "We have to practise the same brand of non-alignment," he emphasised.

He would not be exaggerating if he said that India had played its part "extremely well." The non-aligned movement, had prevented outbreak of wars and it would continue to do so by making war more and more difficult.

Dangerous Axis

Earlier, resuming the debate, Mr Chandrajit Yadav (Janawadi Party) suggested that India should formally propose to Pakistan a bilateral treaty of friendship and cooperation. If Pindi leaders were not prepared to respond to India's offer, "let them be exposed." He was sure the people of India and Pakistan wanted such a friendship.

Mr Yadav warned the Government to be "very cautious" while dealing with China. The United States, Pakistan and China were forming a "dangerous axis," and India should take careful note of it, he said.

He regretted that the entire world was caught in a "tragic situation" of arms race. The United States and its allies were responsible for this rapid deterioration of world peace.

Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh (Cong-I) said Pakistan has tried to carve out a role for itself in the western alliance system. Acquisition of sophisticated weaponry by Pakistan was not going to promote peace in the Indian subcontinent.

Mr K.P. Unnikrishnan (Cong-S) said it was in India's national interest to fight against neocolonialism and imperialism. If this was not "woven into our foreign policy, it can never be said that India is pursuing a nonaligned policy."

Mr Ram Vilas Paswan (LD) questioned the validity of nonalignment, India's foreign policy should be based on national security and the country's self-interest.

Mr P.K. Kodiyan (CPI) criticised the US Government for following a policy of "open confrontation with the Soviet Union." As a result, the world had been brought to the "brink of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe." He also referred to the problems of immigrant labour in Gulf countries and said the Government should look into their complaints of ill-treatment and even of police torture.

CSO: 4220/7071

CONGRESS-I GAINS IN RAJYA SABHA ELECTIONS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Mar 82 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 29 (UNI)--Despite cross voting in the states in the final round, the Congress(I) today emerged with a marginal gain in the Rajya Sabha biennial elections by capturing a total of 47 seats from 14 states against the retirement of 46 party members.

With the completion of the third leg of polling covering nine states, 63 of the 73 seats falling vacant on April 2 have been filled.

Elections from Assam (two seats), Kerela (three) and Delhi (one) were not held as their respective legislative bodies stand dissolved. The remaining four seats are to be filled by nomination.

Defections and cross-voting cost the Congress(I) one seat in Andhra Pradesh, where it had fielded candidates for all the six seats.

A study of the results shows that at least 16 Congress(I) legislators voted for the Janata Party candidate, Mr P. Babulu Reddy, who secured 56 first preference votes, even though the combined strength of the opposition is only 40.

The minimum number of votes required for one to win in the first count was 42.

Mr R. Sambasiva Rao, adopted as Congress(I) candidate after the scrutiny of nominations, had been allotted only 32 votes but obtained 46 first preference votes, indicating the extent of cross-voting by Congress(I) members.

Five in Bihar

In Maharashtra, the Congress(I) retained five seats and lost one to the Congress(S), Mr Bani Deshpande, the communist leader, Mr S.A. Dange's son-in-law whom the party had adopted as a "friendly" candidate, lost the election mainly due to cross-voting by party legislators.

While four party candidates won in the first round of counting, the fifth Congress(I) nominee, Mr M.C. Bhandare, was declared elected in the sixth round. All-India Youth Congress(S) president, Mr Suresh Kalmadi, won in the fifth round.

The highest number of votes, 42, went to Mr V.P. Singh, who is understood to be a nominee of Mr Rajiv Gandhi and perhaps the only Congress(I) member to have been fielded from a state outside his own.

In Bihar, the Congress(I) retained all its five seats while the Bharatiya Janata Party, Lok Dal and Communist Party of India shared the remaining three seats.

Each winning candidate was declared successful in the first count. This was apparently facilitated by the retirement of Mr Bhola Paswan Shastri from the contest.

Among those returned was the Union parliamentary affairs minister, Mr Bhishma Narain Singh.

Congress(I) gain was recorded in Rajasthan where the party won all the three seats while only two Congress(I) members from the state are among those retiring from the house on April 2.

The BJP vice-president, Mr Sunder Singh Bhandari, lost the election because of cross-voting by some opposition members.

He secured only 36 first preference votes against the opposition strength of 52.

The Union deputy agriculture minister, Mr Mohammad Usman Arif, was among the winners.

Advani Wins

Although six Congress(I) members from Madhya Pradesh are retiring, the party fielded only five, all of whom were declared elected. The lone opposition candidate to have won was Mr L.K. Advani, BJP general secretary.

The Union minister of state for finance, Mr S.S. Sisodia one of the retiring members, was not renominated.

The Congress(I) retained its two seats from Punjab and one each from Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

The third seat from Punjab went to the Akali Dal (Longowal) nominee, Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra, former president of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

The results in the three states went according to the strength of the different parties.

Mr Tohra got the highest number of votes--38. The tally showed he had obtained the vote of the Khalistan protagonist, Mr Sukhjinber Singh, who voted from jail, and the vote of at least one member of the Akali Dal (Talwandi).

Our special correspondent adds from Jaipur: The defeat of Mr Bhandari did not come as a surprise to observers here but the wide margin by which he lost surprised many.

Mr Mohammad Arif and Mr Matha Singh secured 53 votes each while Mr Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi, a former MLA, secured 54 votes. The Congress(I) nominees were declared elected on the basis of first preference votes.

The present strength of the Rajasthan vidhan sabha is 199 as one seat is vacant. As was expected, the two members belonging to the CPI and the CPM did not cast their votes. The third absentee was Mr Lachu Ram, leader of the Lok Dal group in the assembly. Mr Lachu Ram is in hospital with a fractured leg.

In all, 196 members participated in the voting. The Congress(I) has a strength of 147 in the vicham sabha.

The results clearly show that the Congress(I) got 13 votes more than its strength. The Lok Dal, Janata Party and Congress(S) together have a strength of 18. It is obvious that Mr Bhandari got only five votes from these parties as the BJP's strength in the assembly is 31.

Our special correspondent writes from Patna: While three of the four other candidates are sitting members, the fourth, Mr Rafique Allam, president of the pradesh unit of the Congress(I), will be going to the upper house for the first time. The three sitting members elected today are Miss Pratibha Singh, Mr Ram Nand Yadav and Mr Mohinder Mohan Mishra.

The remaining Rajya Sabha seats were won by Mr Mahabir Prasad Yadav (Lok Dal), Mr Suran Prasad (CPI) and Mr Jagdambi Prasad (BJP).

An unsuccessful independent contestant, Mr R.K. Gupta, polled 12 votes against 39 votes each secured by the non-Congress winners. While Mr Yadav of the Congress(I) got 39 votes, the other four winners of the ruling party received 38 votes each.

Bhopal (UNI): The BJP general secretary, Mr L.K. Advani, and five Congress (I) candidates including Mr Hans Raj Bharadwaj, a Delhi-based lawyer from Haryana who defended Mrs Indira Gandhi in court cases during the emergency. Of these, only two--Hindi writer and poet Shrikant and Mrs Ratan Kumar Devi--sought re-election. The four, who did not get party nomination, included the Union minister of state for finance, Mr Sisodia.

The only independent candidate in the fray, Mr Ramesh Chandra Shrivastya, editor of a local Hindi weekly, drew blank, not securing the votes even of his sponsors, Mr Rama Shankar Singh (Lok Dal) and Mr Laxmi Prasad (Cong-I).

Our Special Correspondent adds from Hyderabad: Thanks to massive cross-voting by the ruling Congress(I) members, Mr Babul Reddy polled the highest number of first-preference votes of 56, even though the combined opposition votes would have totalled 40, two less than the minimum required.

The only other candidate elected in the first count was Mr R. Sambasiva Rao who polled 46 votes. Originally fielded as the Lok Dal candidate, he was later "adopted" by the Congress(I).

The remaining four seats went to Congress(I) candidates in subsequent rounds. The winning candidates were Mr Y. Adinarayana Reddy, Mr B. Ramachandra Rao, Mr K.L.N. Prasad (sitting member) and Mr B.S. Ramesh Babu.

Mr M.M. Hashim, former minister and MP, was defeated. Another candidate, Mr T.K. Kodandaram, an independent, did not secure a single vote.

Five of the 293 effective votes in the 293-member assembly were found invalid. The break-up in the first count is Mr Babul Reddy (56), Mr Sambasiva Rao (46), Mr Adinarayana Reddy (40), Mr Prasad (37), Mr Ramesh Babu (38), Mr Ramachandra Rao (30), Mr Hashim (32) and Mr Kodandaram (nil).

In the second count, the surplus votes of Mr Babul Reddy helped Mr Adinarayana Reddy and Mr Ramachandra Rao to get elected in the third count, Mr Sambasiva Rao's votes were transferred to Mr Ramesh Babu. The fourth and fifth counts were indecisive. In the sixth count, Mr Prasad was declared elected.

Our special Correspondent adds from Chandigarh: As expected, both the Congress(I) nominees, Mr Satpal Mittal and Mrs Amarjit Kaur, and the Akali Dal (L) candidate, Mr Tohra, were elected.

The most surprising part of the result was that Mr Tohra got 38 votes, seven more than the strength of the Akali Dal(L). Most probably he got two votes from the Akali Dal (T) and one of Mr Sukhjinder Singh, formerly of the Akali Dal(L) and now an independent, who cast his vote by postal ballot from Ferozepore jail. Four votes of the CPM were assured to him. In other words, the CPM did not cooperate with the CPI in spite of an appeal by the CPI leaders.

The CPI nominee, Mr Jagjit Singh Anand, got nine votes, one more than the strength of the party in the assembly. Dr Bhagat Singh of the Akali Dal(T) secured three votes.

Twenty-nine votes were needed for a candidate to win. Mr Satpal Mittal got 32 votes and Mrs Amarjit Kaur 31.

It remains to be seen whether Mr Tohra will resign from the presidentship of the SGPC at the religious body's executive meeting to be held on Wednesday.

The Akali Dal(L) president, Sant Harcharan Singh Longowai, announced several times during the last fortnight that he had amended the party constitution debarring members from holding two posts.

Referring to the Haryana results, our special correspondent says: While the return of Mr Hari Singh Nalwa, sitting Congress(I) member from Haryana, was a foregone conclusion, his tally of 55 votes surprised even ruling party circles, as the strength of the Congress(I) is only 51 in the 90-member house.

This implied that the ruling party had managed to find supporters on the other side of the house. (Two of Mr Nalwa's votes were declared invalid.)

The combined opposition failed to retain its grip even on its 39 members. In effect, Mr Ramphal, BJP nominee who was the recognised opposition candidate, Mr Rossan Lal, was declared elected for the third term.

Mr Lal polled 40 against 24 votes secured by his only opponent, the former minister, Mr Jagdev Chand (BJP).

One vote was declared invalid. In all, 65 votes were cast.

The effective strength of the 68-member assembly is 66 including the speaker. An independent, Mr Anand Chand, is currently abroad for treatment.

The Congress(I) cornered two votes more than its strength of 38 including the two independent members who joined it during the past two days.

The Congress(I) candidate, Mrs Usha Malhotra, polled 46 votes.

The BJP has a strength of 24. The speaker, Mr T.S. Negi, and the only Janata member, Miss Shyama Sharma, also voted.

CSO: 4220/7067

MINISTER SPEAKS ON PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 82 p 12

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 20.

THE Union agriculture minister, Rao Birendra Singh, said today that though the food position now was a little comfortable, it would be wrong to say that the country had achieved complete self-sufficiency.

The production of pulses and oil-seeds had not risen to the desirable extent and the country depended heavily on imports of these items.

There was still no room for complacency in the field of agriculture.

The emphasis now should be on raising the productivity of unirrigated areas which constituted a substantial part of the total farmland, he said, while addressing the annual general body meeting of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research Society in his capacity as its president.

The minister said even after achieving the maximum irrigation target, there would still be over 50 per cent of cultivable area under rainfed agriculture.

The transfer of technology to farmers had not received as much attention as it deserved, he said. Concerted efforts should be made to rectify lacunae in this field. Publicity material should be produced in simple language which could be widely understood.

He suggested the exchange of farmers between progressive and agriculturally backward states so that they could learn from each other's experience.

SCIENTISTS PRAISED

The minister said Indian farm scientists had done a wonderful job and their services were being sought after by other developing countries. He, however, deplored the tendency among

some scientists to over-stay in other countries while on foreign assignments.

Several agricultural universities were participating in international research and training programmes through bilateral or multi-lateral agreements. This posed many problems. It would be better if the universities consulted the ICAR and the agriculture ministry in this regard.

Rao Birendra Singh said many agricultural universities had not yet implemented the model act prepared by the Centre for their governance and functioning despite letters written to state governments. The utilisation of financial assistance rendered to states for development of agricultural universities and their farm programmes had been rather slow, he said. Many universities and state governments had not submitted the utilisation certificates for the last three years or more. They were, therefore, not eligible for further assistance from the ICAR.

The minister said efforts were afoot to create in the ICAR a scientist-oriented system, rather than a post-oriented system. It was necessary to provide good working conditions in order to keep up the morale of the scientists.

It had been decided to establish a "Bio-Technology board" in the country which would include the ICAR as an important constituent. The agricultural sector would benefit the most from advances in bio-technology.

It had also been decided to earmark Rs. 5 crores to strengthen programmes of bio-technology research within the ICAR system, he announced.

The ICAR was collaborating with the department of space to make use of the latest technologies for soil survey and land-use classification. Basic research in areas of plant physiology, biochemistry, microbiology and biophysics were being strengthened, he said.

INDIA

WORLD BANK AID TO BE SOUGHT FOR POWER PROJECT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 23 Mar 82 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 22: The National Thermal Power Corporation will approach the World Bank for a loan of \$400 million for the second phase of Farakka super thermal power project. The second phase will comprise three units of 500 MW each.

The Farakka project is getting World Bank finance to the tune of \$250 million for its first phase involving three units of 200 MW each.

It is expected that NTPC, which has impressed the World Bank with its record of credit utilisation, will not find it difficult to get more funds. In fact, NTPC is the largest beneficiary of the World Bank and IDA funds in India.

The World Bank has so far committed a total assistance of \$1,850 million for NTPC projects. This month, a \$400 million IDA credit for the 1500 MW expansion of the Korba project and a \$300 million IBRD loan for the 1500 MW expansion of the Ramagundam project have become effective.

Fund Utilisation

Against the target of \$244.2 million for 1981-82, the utilisation of World Bank funds has been \$244.7 million up to March 15.

According to Mr A.K. Sah, chairman and managing director of NTPC, feasibility reports for five new projects have been sent to the government for approval. The first phase of these projects will result in an addition of 4280 MW of installed capacity. The Vindhyachal project in Sidhi district of Madhya Pradesh has been approved by the public investment board.

NTPC has just commissioned the first 200 MW unit of the Singrauli super thermal power station. This was done in 48 months despite the constraints of a remote virgin site and lack of infrastructure facilities.

The fifth unit of 210 MW was commissioned at the Badarpur thermal power station near Delhi three months ago, also in a record time of 45 months. This unit has already been taken up to a load of 195 MW and efforts are being made to commence commercial operation at the earliest. The fourth unit at Badarpur has already stabilised.

According to Mr Sah, work on other projects has been proceeding on schedule. The 200 MW and 500 MW units at Singrauli, Korba, Ramagundam and Farakka have made significant progress.

The second and third 200 MW units at Singrauli are expected to be commissioned as scheduled during 1982-83. The first 200 MW unit of Korba is also expected to be commissioned during the same year.

CSO: 4220/7048

PAPERS REPORT LOK SABHA DEBATE ON DEFENSE NEEDS

Venkataraman on Air Force Needs

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 26. The defence minister, Mr R. Venkataraman, said today that the acquisition and manufacture of "advanced version" aircraft in the MiG family was under the consideration of the government.

He said the question was discussed with the Soviet defence minister, Marshal Ustinov, during his visit to India recently. The "possibility and need" to acquire the latest versions of the MiGs were discussed. The reference was obviously to MiG-27.

While replying to the debate on the budgetary allocations for defence in the Lok Sabha today, the defence minister dwelt on the compulsive situation in which India was having to go in for "upgrading" its arsenal--the large-scale acquisition of sophisticated weaponry by Pakistan.

India could not overlook the fact, he pointed out, that most of the weapons Pakistan was acquiring were not suitable for combat in terrain like that of Afghanistan, the ostensible reason for acquiring them, and also the fact that they were being deployed "along our borders."

Talks on for Mirages

The minister also disclosed that negotiations for the acquisition of Mirage-2000 aircraft were still on. The aircraft had been evaluated both by the Indian Air Force and the French Air Force and their advantages--speed, heavier carrying capacity and ability to look down and shoot--had been noted.

Discarding the suggestion that India should necessarily choose the nuclear option if Pakistan started manufacturing nuclear weapons, Mr Venkataraman said that "on balance of considerations" India remained wedded to the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and supported nuclear disarmament "because it is moral and just."

Asked by Dr Subramaniam Swamy (Janata) what if the balance changed, Mr Venkataraman said, the reply had been drafted with great care. "You draw your conclusions."

The defence minister said the progress made by the ordnance factories and public-sector units in armaments manufacture was "phenomenal" regretting that some members should criticise them when "they are doing so well."

New Tank

He pointed out that the NBT tank which was being developed indigenously--it would be India's main battle tank--was among the best in the world. The Vijayanta tank was being modernised with greater fire power.

Improvements were also being made in artillery, anti-tank guns, missiles, combat helicopters with night-sighting facilities. The missile system was being improved to give it a strike capacity as those in any country.

The rate of obsolescence in armaments was so "stunning," the minister pointed out, that import of technology "far ahead of what we have" was unavoidable to keep abreast of the times. The R&D had to be constantly improved.

The minister's 40-minute speech was devoted almost entirely to the threat from Pakistan, dwelling on the fact that it was acquiring arms much beyond its legitimate defence needs. But he assured that India's preparedness was adequate.

Emphasising India's peaceful intentions towards its western neighbour, Mr Venkataraman quoted Cromwell to say, "While we trust God, we must keep our powder dry. We are going ahead in preparation for an eventuality which I hope will never occur."

Mr Venkataraman reiterated that India had no aggressive design against anybody. It had no ambition of becoming a major power. Its only interest was to safeguard its national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

As proof of its intention, he said, India was not only prepared for a no-war pact with Pakistan but had also offered to sign a treaty of friendship.

Pakistan, on the other hand, had gone on increasing its military strength although its defence responsibilities had gone down since 1971. Pakistan's per capita defence expenditure was \$17 compared to India's \$7. It was 5.9 per cent of its GNP while India's was 3.8 per cent. In absolute terms, the defence expenditure of India with its geographical size was \$4.4 billion against Pakistan's \$1.5 billion--42 per cent of its total expenditure.

The minister also said that a new recruitment policy for the armed forces was being tried out so that the areas which went unrepresented got an opportunity.

PTI & UNI add: Paying glowing tributes to the defence personnel for devotion to duty and high morale, Mr Venkataraman said among thumping of desks by member: "Our armed forces will always be prepared for the defence of the country. The whole nation stands behind them."

Pakistan Threat to Security

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Mar 82 p 16

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 26.—The Defence Minister, Mr R. Venkataraman, said in the Lok Sabha today that while India would try its best to establish friendly relations with Pakistan, it could not ignore the considerable enhancing of fire-power by that country and would have to keep its own "equipment" in readiness. "That is what we are doing", he added.

He was replying to the seven-hour debate on his Ministry's budgetary demands. Following his reply, the cut motions given notice of were rejected and the demands passed unanimously.

Pakistan, Mr Venkataraman told the House, had kept on building its military strength and lately had begun procuring highly sophisticated military equipment and weapons far in excess of its legitimate defence requirements. Although the Afghan situation was cited as the reason for such an arms pile-up, it was clear that those weapons would not be used against Afghanistan.

Nor were they massed on the Afghan border, he said. "Pakistan is mounting all its equipment near our border" increasing the threat to India's security.

He said against India's per capita defence expenditure of \$7, Pakistan's was \$17. As a percentage of the Gross National Product, India's expenditure was only 3.8, while Pakistan's was 8.7 to 8.9. Its annual military expenditure was as much as \$1.5 billion, 42% of its total Governmental expenditure.

Outlining India's defence policy, Mr Venkataraman said that the country had no territorial ambitions. It did not propose to attack any country. Its goal was to safeguard the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and India's history had fully borne

that out.

Mr Venkataraman said: "The Government is alive to the implications of all developments which have a bearing on our security and is committed to full defence preparedness".

The fire-power of the Armed Forces was being increased, tank capacity improved and the Vijayanta tank modernized. Besides, there was a project for the manufacture of main battle tanks with the latest technology. The new tank, when developed would be among the best in the world.

The Minister said the Navy was being modernized and soon special killer submarines would be assembled in the country.

The Air Force, he said, was similarly being modernized. Ageing aircraft and transport planes would be replaced and missile systems improved "so that our striking capacity is as good as that of any other country".

He told the House that the country's ordnance factories and public sector undertakings were turning out a wide variety of defence equipment.

The Minister however, disagreed with a suggestion that India should manufacture nuclear weapons in view of Pakistan's preparations in this regard.

He said the Government had decided against such a policy and was striving for nuclear disarmament

because "it is moral and just". It was wedded to the policy of harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

PTI adds: India has sought the latest MIG combat aircraft from the Soviet Union, Mr Venkataraman said today. The issue was discussed with Marshal Ustinov during his visit here a week ago.

CSO: 4220/7060

FINANCE MINISTER URGES RAISE IN PRODUCTION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, March 27. The finance minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, told the corporate sector today to put its own house in order by improving efficiency of operation, maximising production and modernising its technology so that it could reduce costs and increase its competitiveness.

He assured a large gathering of industrial and business leaders that the credit needs for higher production would continue to be met. Steps had already been taken to ensure that credit in vital sectors was not curtailed, he said.

Inaugurating the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) Mr Mukherjee said that during 1981-82, the process of economic recovery was completed with the industrial growth rate going up to nine per cent and inflation having been brought under control.

However, there could be no complacency on inflation because the demand and supply in the economy were so delicately balanced that even a minor disturbance could once again trigger off an inflationary spiral.

Import Substitution

There remained a need for fundamental adjustment even though the balance of payments situation would be temporarily overcome with the help of the IMF loan. In this context, he stressed the need for import substitution in areas such as petroleum, fertilisers, steel, cement, aluminium and edible oils. Exports should be stepped up and efforts made to attract investment and remittances from abroad, he said.

Mr Mukherjee defended the tight money policy by stressing the imperative need to contain inflationary pressures and maintained that legitimate credit requirements of industry were being met. He pointed out that the government had now dropped the move to hike by a quarter per cent the cash reserve ratio.

The finance minister strongly defended his budget proposals and asked industry to recognise that growth and productivity were not something that came from tax concessions alone. There were several other aspects of government policy and efforts of the industry itself that were perhaps much more important in stimulating industrial growth.

In a subtle reference to the criticism of his budget proposals by FICCI and other organisations, Mr Mukherjee said: "Part of the disappointment is not because of what I have done but because of high expectations of the corporate sector. I do not know how and why these expectations were aroused."

The large step-up in plan outlay should provide a direct stimulus to capital goods industries and an indirect stimulus to the economy as a whole. What was equally important, Mr Mukherjee said, was the fact that much of the investment in the public sector was being directed at existing capacities in precisely those sectors which would otherwise become critical constraints on industrial growth.

The finance minister also stressed the need for commercialisation of indigenous technology. Import of technology must not be allowed to become the easy option. It was important that indigenous research capabilities were strengthened and that imported technology was adapted to indigenous conditions and used to further self-reliance, he said.

CSO: 4220/7062

ELECTRONICS FIRM WINS CONTRACT WITH DPRK

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Mar 82 p 10

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 27: Against stiff competition from foreign companies, an Indian public-sector undertaking has won the contract for an electronics component plant in north Korea.

The UNIDO project in the high-technology area of Bipolar medium-scale integrated circuits will provide India with an opportunity to make a success of South-South co-operation. It is the largest overseas turnkey project ever secured by an Indian company in any high-technology area.

The Rs 42-crore project will be set up near Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. The Electronics Trade and Technology Development Corporation, which has won the contract, will also train North Korean engi-

neers and technicians and hand over the project to them, after commissioning and trial runs.

According to Mr. P. K. Sandell, chairman of the ETTDC, the plant, with a capacity of one million semiconductor devices is expected to be completed by December next year.

The basic consultancy work for the project had been undertaken by the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and the national scientific talent had been pooled to make a success of this project.

India's performance in the regard can win it more such contracts in the field of semi-conductor technology which is closely guarded by multinational firms and international leaders in the field.

CSO: 4220/7062

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AGREES TO GRANT LOANS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 23 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 22.—The Asian Development Bank has agreed in principle to let India borrow from it from next year, clearing the way for loans from the regional institution for the first time since it was founded in 1966. The borrowings are to be sizeable.

The amount of the loans is to be worked out in the next few weeks, and ideally, the Government would like to get about \$400 million a year, or about \$2 billion over the next five years. This should help fill the gap in the loans from the World Bank, which has told India to expect cuts in assistance from it.

It may not, however, be possible to obtain this amount from the ADB, since much will depend on how successfully the institution is able to raise funds for itself from the world capital markets. This process, the fourth time that the ADB is to replenish its resources, is to begin soon.

India has made it clear, mainly to assuage fears of traditional beneficiaries of the ADB, such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and other low per capita income countries, that it will not borrow from the Asian Development Fund, the ADB's soft-loan window, which gives loans on such liberal terms that they are virtually grants.

10% INTEREST

This means that all the loans from the ADB will come from what are known as its Ordinary Capital Resources, which are now to be replenished. Loans will, thus, be given at an interest rate of just over 10% annually, about the same as that charged by the main World Bank.

Other fears expressed by the ADB—that it does not have the administrative capabilities to handle loans from a country of the size and problems of India—have also been met by the decision that the Government will seek "sector loans", rather than the usual project loans.

This means that the ADB funds will be given to such financial institutions as the Industrial Development Bank of India for meeting the foreign exchange needs of various sectors of Indian industry. Since such financial institutions themselves vet thoroughly the loan applications submitted to

it the ADB itself need not make the detailed scrutiny that would otherwise be necessary.

India has never borrowed from the ADB, even though it is one of its founder members and is the third-largest contributor to it, after Japan and the USA. Even now, since it has decided that it will not—at least for the present—tap the soft-loan window, India will not be affecting the share of the really needy countries in Asia.

If the ADB successfully replenishes its Ordinary Capital Resources, India's borrowings should not affect other countries, since the overall availability of funds will increase. However it is now true that India will be competing for ADB funds from such countries as South Korea, Taiwan and the like, which are relatively more affluent.

India's announcement that it would borrow from the ADB from next year sent ripples of anxiety through its traditional beneficiaries, and there is still considerable fear that this country's needs are so large that they will eventually be harmed.

However, because of India's critical balance of payments position—which has forced it to borrow from the IMF and the world money markets on a large scale—make loans from any source unavoidable.

So far India has contributed \$31.86 million to the ADB's capital stock in foreign exchange and the bulk of its subscription has been in rupees. This entitles the country to one position of executive director on the board of directors and one of the two vice-presidents.

Until the decision to borrow from the ADB, India's main interest lay in taking part in as many ADB-funded projects that it could. Since the competitiveness of Indian firms has improved, procurement of contracts has increased from the nominal \$28 million up to the end of 1978 to \$112 million until 1981. This is expected to increase further.

DETAILS OF TRADE PACT WITH KENYA GIVEN

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Mar 82 p 7

[Text]

NAIROBI, March 23 (PTI).

INDIA, and Kenya have agreed on certain conclusion on economic cooperation between the two countries, in the fields of machine tools, pesticides, drugs, pharmaceuticals, electronics, cement, textiles and leather manufacture.

Giving this information to participants in a day-long seminar yesterday on "Kenya-India Prospects for Industrial Cooperation", Kenya's industry minister, Mr. A. J. Omanga said that there was wide scope for industrial cooperation between the two countries in almost all fields of industrial activity.

A large number of entrepreneurs from the private sector and representatives of trade and commercial organisations of both India and Kenya attended the seminar organised on the occasion of the Indian Trade Fair here.

The fair declared open by President Daniel Arap Moi on Friday last

has been attracting large crowds every day and according to the Trade Fair authorities several trade enquiries have been received.

The Indian High Commissioner, Mr. V. K. Grover, and the chairman of the Trade Fair Authority of India, Mr. Mohammed Yunus, explained the industrial and technological potential built up by India and its capacity today to accelerate developmental efforts of countries like Kenya.

While Mr. Harban Singh, chairman, India Investment Centre, dealt with several seasoning questions put by participants and asked the entrepreneurs to visit India and see for themselves the progress made by the country since independence, Mr. Pran Talwar, chairman, import committee, All-India Automobile and Ancillary Industries Association said that next to Japan, India was the largest manufacturer of vehicles in Asia. Over 800 lakh vehicles were produced last year and the figure is expected to reach the one million mark this year.

CSU: 422077050

INDIAN DELEGATE SPEAKS AT MANILA SCIENCE MEET

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Mar 82 p 7

[Text] MANILA, March 23 (PTI).

INDIA today set the pace at the Asian and Pacific science ministers' meeting by declaring that some of its scientific and technological facilities would be open for utilisation by other developing countries in the region.

"India invites you to share her information and experience in the realms of science and technology," Dr. M. S. Sanjeevi Rao, deputy minister of electronics, said in his address to the second conference on the application of science and technology for development in Asia and the Pacific (CASTASIA-II) now in session here.

Dr. Rao is the leader of the five member Indian delegation to CASTASIA-II whose theme is regional co-operation and collective self-reliance. He is also one of the six vice-presidents of CASTASIA-II.

SPECIFIC OFFERS

Dr. Rao told the delegates that India would display open mindedness in sharing information with developing countries to provide a fillip to the growth of science and promotion of scientific research in the region.

He made specific offers in the areas of post-harvest technology, electronics, remote sensing, water resources, medicine and alternative energy sources.

The basic infrastructures created in India in these areas "is open for utilisation by any other member country of CASTASIA," Dr. Rao told the 121 delegates from 29 countries attending the conference.

Dr. Rao indicated that India would

assist other countries through training in a variety of important fields or by way of participatory research programmes in Indian laboratories.

The Indian delegates said the national informatics centre (NIC) in New Delhi would be of specific interest to CASTASIA countries.

Backed by a huge computer and some 20 mini-computers, the NIC has put to use the new technology of computer networking to enable exchange of information between various ministries and departments of the government, he said.

Dr. Rao said this project has a direct relevance to the growth of similar networks by governments of other countries in Asia. He said India would be pleased to offer the facilities of NIC "for the training of other CASTASIA countries in the area of government informatics and in the development and management of computer network."

India would also be willing to help other countries in the field of remote sensing, the conference was told. The national remote sensing agency in India has data products in the form of transparencies as well as a bank of computer tapes which are being disseminated to Indian and non-Indian users, Dr. Rao said.

Dr. Rao said India was already contributing 10 per cent of the indicative planning figure (IPF) from the

UNDP funds for technical collaboration among the developing countries (TCDC). Besides this, India has earmarked specific funds for TCDC in its sixth five-year plan.

He said regional co-operation is an urgent necessity as the gap in science and technology capability between developed and developing countries is increasing "and it will be impossible to bridge it even by the turn of the century."

India's offer to open up its national informatics centre and remote sensing agency for regional cooperation drew immediate response from the conference chairman, Mr. Emil Javier of the Philippines, who described it as "a nice gesture by India." He also congratulated India on

spending 10 per cent of the UNDP funds on TCDC.

Apart from India, the conference was addressed today by China, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Laos and the Democratic Republic of Korea.

China called for restructuring of the system of international assistance in way that could eliminate technology monopoly and promote regional co-operation and self-reliance.

The Chinese delegate, Mr. Jiang Ming, said developing countries should be free to acquire technology in favourable terms and added that China was going all out for modernisation of all its enterprises instead of establishing new ones.

MINISTER TELLS PROGRESS IN JAGUAR PRODUCTION

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Apr 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Bangalore, March 31--The country has taken a big leap forward in the air defence by launching the first operational Jaguar aircraft fully assembled at the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited at Bangalore this morning.

The man who made the country proud of this achievement is Wing Commander M.W. Tilak who is at present chief test pilot of HAL at Bangalore.

Defence Minister R. Venkataraman, who watched the inaugural flight along with Deputy Defence Minister K. P. Singh Deo, Chief of the Air Staff Air Chief Marshal Dilbagh Singh, Karnataka Chief Minister Gundu Rao and top Defence Ministry and HAL officials, told a press conference that the flight was 'excellent.'

Air Chief Marshal Dilbagh Singh said the first fully Indian made Jaguar would be ready to fly by the end of 1983.

As Wg. Cdr. M.W. Tilak stepped out of the fighter aircraft after a 20-minute flight, Mr Venkataraman congratulated him and presented him with a model of the plane.

The Defence Minister also congratulated the engineers, workers and others who are involved in the assembly project for their 'wonder ful' job.

Wg. Cdr Tilak has flown over 50 different types of aeroplanes and has to his credit over 8000 flying hours. He has 30 years of distinguished service to his credit. He was with the IAF for 20 years and was awarded Ati Vishist Seva Medal in January 1972 for his distinguished performance.

While talking to newsmen Mr Venkataraman declared: "We are embarking on a programme of assembly of 45 more Jaguars with a progressive programme of manufacturing them ourselves."

He and the Air Chief gave a target date for completion of this programme as 1985. The Air Chief further told newsmen that last of the 45 Jaguars being produced at HAL may be 'fully manufactured by HAL.'

Asked about India going in for the latest version of MiG aircraft Mr Venkataraman said the country has decided to go in for the improved version of the Soviet MiG aircraft.

He told newsmen that negotiations were going on in this regard and identification of the version was not yet over.

Mr Venkataraman also said negotiations were also underway to buy Mirage 2000 from France.

Asked whether a deal was discussed during the recent visit of Soviet Defence Minister Dimitry Ustinov, he replied "that is what I have already told Parliament." He, however, did not elaborate.

Lauding the performance of Jaguar Air Chief Dilbagh Singh said "this has added punch to the strength of the IAF and added "we also depend on HAL for maintenance support."

Jaguar aircraft now rolling out of assembly line at HAL is primarily used for long interaction. It can also be effectively used for counter air-operations and tactical close support.

CSO: 4220/7071

FIRST ACCORD WITH FOREIGN OIL COMPANY SIGNED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 31 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] The Government has signed its first agreement with a foreign oil company for oil exploration on oil sharing basis after an exercise of nearly 18 months.

Petroleum Minister P. Shiv Shankar told the Lok Sabha on Tuesday that the agreement for exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons in Saurashtra offshore Block II has been signed with Chevron Overseas Corporation of California on 26 March.

In a written reply to Mr Harinath Misra (Congress-I), he said that the entire exploration risk would be borne by Chevron if there was no commercial discovery.

Chevron's share in the profit oil will be on a gradually declining scale--20 per cent at the maximum, declining gradually to 10 per cent, he added.

In an important condition, Chevron has agreed that its share of profit oil will be sold to the Government till India attains self-sufficiency in crude oil.

The agreement on selling oil share to India by the foreign company is notable insofar as it applies to it till India attains self-sufficiency, sources said.

In earlier agreements entered into with the foreign companies, the oil sharing was only notional with actual dispatch of oil outside the country not envisaged. Now, the position has slightly changed in favour of foreign oil companies as they would be able to send oil outside India if and when the country achieves self-sufficiency, it is pointed out.

Doors Open

With the signing of the agreement with Chevron, the doors are now open for the Government to go in for the second round inviting foreign oil companies for exploration, sources added.

Giving details of the agreement in his written reply, Mr Shankar noted that as per the contract, the maximum period allowed for exploration would be five years in two phases--the first phase being of three years and the second optional phase being of two years.

Under the first phase, Chevron will drill at least three wells, spending a minimum of 29 million US dollars. If the option is exercised for the second phase, another two wells will be drilled involving a minimum expenditure of 18 million US dollars.

The contract covers a total area of approximately 18,500 sq kms but at the end of three years, and if the second optional phase is taken up by Chevron, up to 50 per cent area can be retained by them, the balance reverting to the Government.

If no hydrocarbons are discovered, the contract will terminate and the area will revert to the Government. However, if there is a discovery, Chevron will be entitled to retain only the producing and produceable areas for a period of 22 years, including the period of exploration from the date of signing of the agreement.

Under the agreement, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission can take up to 50 per cent working interest in the contract after a hydrocarbon discovery has been established as commercial without payment for the cost of exploration.

Two Portions

The total oil produced and saved will be split into two portions--cost oil and profit oil. Cost oil will be that portion of crude oil which when valued at fair market value equals the cost recoverable in a year. The rest will be profit oil.

Chevron's share in the profit oil (the rest will belong to ONGC/Government) will be on a gradually declining scale depending upon the cumulative net cash-in-flow as a multiple of exploration and development costs.

All the associated gas will belong to the Government, free of charge. If non-associated gas is discovered, the timing of development of such a gas field and the end-use of that gas will be determined by the Government and a separate agreement will be negotiated after the discovery.

The ONGC will be closely associated with the management of operations from the beginning and no major decisions will be taken by Chevron without the concurrence of the Government and the ONGC.

CSU: 4220/7070

UN DELEGATE SPEAKS ON CENTRAL AMERICAN ISSUE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 31 Mar 82 p 3

[Text] United Nations, March 30 (PTI)

India strongly opposed in the Security Council on Monday intervention, "overt or covert," by any outside power in the affairs of the Central American and Caribbean nations.

Speaking in the continuing debate in the council on the complaint by Nicaragua against the United States, Permanent representative of India N. Krishnan said: "The Government of India believes that the present situation in the region should not be allowed to deteriorate and pose a threat to international peace and security. As a non-aligned country, we are firmly opposed to interference and intervention in the affairs of sovereign States. All nations should be left to deal with their own problems, and all concerned should make every effort to resolve issues through peaceful negotiation.

The council has been meeting since 25 March on Nicaragua's complaint that it faced an 'ever increasing threat' of large-scale military intervention by the US.

Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, head of the ruling junta of Nicaragua, came to New York to present his country's case against the US.

Commander Ortega asked the council to direct the US to hold its obligations under the UN Charter. Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, chief US delegate denied Commander Ortega's charges against her country as 'extravagant and baseless.'

Mr Krishnan recalled the stand taken by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries at the meeting held in February 1981 at New Delhi affirming the need to respect of Nicaragua's independence and national sovereignty, free from any kind of interference in its internal affairs. This concern was repeated at the plenary meeting of non-aligned countries held at New York on 14 December.

"The process of decolonisation in the region of Central America and the Caribbean is in its final stage," he said.

But the evolution of political structures and attitudes in the region has unfortunately led to sharp confrontation.'

Intervention is intervention whether it be from near or far covert or overt, acknowledged or otherwise and is impermissible it will inevitably have its own retribution.'

Mr Krishanan extended India's support to the proposals put forward by President of Mexico Lopez Portillo to resolve the Central American and Caribbean problems. He said India hoped that the negotiated political solution would be found for the region's problems.

No resolution has surfaced so far for the council's consideration. It seems likely that the council may not pass a resolution.

CSO: 4220/7070

INTUC WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Mar 82 p 16

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 23.

The Working Committee of the Indian National Trade Union Congress has called for the implementation of all Central labour laws in Jammu and Kashmir.

In a resolution the Working Committee took a serious view of the fact that though the labour laws in force elsewhere in the country had been extended to Jammu and Kashmir, the State Government was indifferent to their enforcement.

It called upon the Jammu and Kashmir Government to ensure the speedy and effective implementation of all labour laws so that workers in the State were not denied the benefits their counterparts in other States enjoyed.

In a resolution on the current strike of textile workers in Bombay, the Working Committee regretted that the workers had been "misled with ulterior political motives".

It pointed out that the Centre had agreed, in response to the INTUC's demand, to go into the problems confronting the textile industry and was likely to constitute a working group.

It, therefore, appealed to the striking workers "not to allow themselves to be sacrificed to the political ambition of an over-ambitious individual and restore normality".

In a resolution on the public sector, the Working Committee called upon all trade unions, regardless of their affiliation, to adopt a positive attitude in the coming wage negotiations.

They should bear in mind not only the improvement of the standard of living of the working class in the public sector but also the need to serve the community with quality goods and services at reasonable prices. It added.

The Working Committee called for an overhaul of the Bureau of Public Enterprises so as to make it an effective instrument to guide all the public sector undertakings.

The Committee expressed concern at what it called a disturbing trend in the trade union movement. The unions had become a hunting ground for adventurists and self-seekers, it said.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi attended the meeting as a special invitee. He pointed out that it was mainly due to the efforts of the INTUC that, barring a few sections, not many responded to the Opposition call for the strike on January 19 last.

Mr. Gandhi, however, cautioned against complacency and stressed the need for discipline and a positive approach to the working class movement.—Our Special Correspondent

ISRO OFFICIAL TELLS ROCKET DEVELOPMENT

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

MADRAS, March 27.

India has developed the technological base for designing rockets of any configuration — a major achievement considering that the space scientists had to start from scratch, Dr. A. P.J. Abdul Kalam, Director of Launch Vehicles/Systems at ISRO, said.

Scientists are currently developing an augmented satellite launch vehicle (ASLV). This vehicle, an improvement over SLV-3, which put Rohini into orbit last year, will have two boosters strapped on and will be able to inject a 150 kg. satellite in a low-earth orbit.

Speaking at a seminar on "Prospects and challenges of the Indian aerospace science of the 1980s and early 1990s", organised at I.I.T., Dr. Kalam said ASLV would be used to prove the strap-on technology developed by Indians, and to polish the closed-loop guidance system. New materials, like Kevlar, would be used to design the rocket to be launched in two years.

By 1987, the country would have developed bigger launch vehicles, called Polar SLV which can put a 1000-kg. remote sensing satellite in a 900-km. orbit.

Polar SLV Plan: He said that the Government had approved the plan to develop Polar SLV and ISRO was gearing itself up to develop various facilities, including procurement of liquid hydrogen, to launch PSLV, which would be 15 times heavier than the rockets developed so far.

Various components, including a closed-loop guidance system, better rocket casings and other sophisticated equipment were being developed. A complex to produce 500 tonnes of propellant was coming up at Sriharikota, he said.

Dr. Kalam said the U.S. had already reached the stage of injecting a 100-tonne satellite, while the Soviet Union could launch a 140-tonne satellite.

About the future needs of the Indian space programme, he said development of cryogenics (use of liquid fuels), re-entry, recovery of booster rockets and designing flyback vehicles were uppermost in the minds of scientists.

Smaller jet aircraft: The dreams of Vikram Sarabhai, the architect of India's space programme, were gradually coming true. With a good technological base and numerous aircraft installations in the country, it would only be appropriate if the Government could build 150-seater passenger jets like what China had done. The investment would be justified as a large fleet of jets would be required in the years to come.

Dr. V. C. Kulandalewami, Vice-Chancellor of the Perambalur Anna University of Technology, who inaugurated the seminar, said educational programmes in aeronautics did not seem to be very popular, and was also confined to a few institutions. He wondered if the country could not have done better in this field which had its beginning well in advance of space and nuclear engineering.

CSO: 4220/7063

BRIEFS

FRUIT FOR USSR--Bombay, March 20--Indian and Soviet specialists have conducted the technical and economic feasibility studies of the construction of an aseptic fruit canning shop in India at the cannery at Vellore, Tamil Nadu. An additional line for the aseptic treatment of tropical fruit will be mounted here. In addition to canning equipment, the line will include eight capacities (15 cubic metres each) for the storage of the products obtained. Aseptic canning has a high economic effect primarily because tinned fruit can be transported not in cans--their traditional package--but in large special capacities. It is planned to supply to the USSR tinned tropical fruit which will pass through the aseptic treatment on the new line at the Vellore plant. [Excerpts] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 82 p 10]

NEW AMBASSADORS APPOINTED--The appointments of new Indian envoys to Pakistan, USSR, Algeria and Fiji were officially announced on Wednesday, says UNI. High Commissioner to Australia Krishna Dayal Sharma has been appointed ambassador to Pakistan in succession to Mr Kanwar Natwar Singh. Mr Prabhakar Menon, director in the Ministry of External Affairs has been appointed ambassador to USSR, in succession to Mr Krishnan Raghunath. Mr C.P. Ravindranathan, Counselor in the Indian Embassy in Paris, has been appointed High Commissioner to Fiji in succession to Mrs Soemu Kochar. Mr Krishna V. Rajan, Deputy High Commissioner in Lusaka, has been appointed ambassador to Algeria in succession to Mr Krishnan Mohan Lal. Mr Natwar Singh is taking over as Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Mar 82 p 1]

FACT WITH MOZAMBIQUE--Maputo, March 26 (PL-Pool)--Mozambique and India have signed a cooperation agreement in the field of aluminium production. Head of the Indian delegation and Secretary of Department of Energy and Mines, B. Ganapati said the agreement was designed to complement the resources of the two countries. India has one of the most important world reserves of aluminium while Mozambique has surplus hydroelectric energy required for the processing of bauxite into aluminium. Stressing the importance of the agreement, Mr Francisco Caravala, National Energy Director of Mozambique, said that in a second phase, concrete forms of cooperation would be established. During the talks, Mozambican Minister, Antonio Branco, disclosed that a delegation from the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric plant would visit India soon. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 Mar 82 p 7]

SOVIET TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER--Moscow, March 27--Soviet and Indian officials have reached agreement on all matters concerning details of the Visakhapatnam steel plant, including arrangements for the transfer of technology and its absorption by Indian agencies and its indigenisation. This followed discussions a team of Indian officials, led by the Steel Secretary, Mr A.S. Gill, had with representatives of Soviet organisations that would be involved in the project. The two sides agreed on all outstanding questions pertaining to division of responsibility between Indian agencies and the Soviet side, and on maximising utilisation of Indian capacities for design and supply of equipment for the plant. It was also agreed to stick to time schedules.--PTI [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Mar 82 p 1]

INDO-YAR TALKS--New Delhi, March 28--The Yemen Arab Republic has sought India's assistance in the development of its agriculture, industry and power generation, reports PTI. Specific areas of cooperation between the two countries were discussed during the recent visit of Mr Romesh Bhandari, Secretary (Economic Relations) in the External Affairs Ministry. During talks between the Vice-President of the YAR, Mr Abdulaziz Abdul Ghanf, and Mr Bhandari, India's help was sought to carry out a study of Yemen's imports and to provide training for its experts. It was agreed that India would depute an expert to work as industrial advisor to the Government of YAR whose task will be to draw up plans for industrialization. According to the spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, the YAR sought cooperation in setting up industries in the field of textiles and in the small and medium-scale sector. It was agreed to hold an exhibition of Indian textiles in Saana shortly. India would also be deputing a team of experts to conduct technoeconomic feasibility studies for industrialization of the republic. The Vice-President observed that Mr Bhandari's visit had opened the door for closer and greater cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 29 Mar 82 p 9]

MACHINE TOOLS TO USSR--Soviet Foreign Trade Organisation, Stankoimport, on Monday signed a contract with the Hindustan Machine Tools for importing machine tools worth Rs 5.2 crores. The contract was signed in the Capital by Mr N.K. Krishnan Kutty and Mr C.R. Nagendran on behalf of the HMT and Mr A.S. Futeyev and Mr S.L. Petrosjan on behalf of Stankoimport. A contract was signed between the two companies in December 1981 for the export of machine tools to the USSR worth Rs 12.2 crore for delivery in 1982 and 1983. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 30 Mar 82 p 7]

CHINESE EDITORS' VISIT--Seven editors connected with newspaper and news media in China will arrive in Delhi on 29 April on a two-week visit to the country, reports INI. According to Mr Vishwa Bandhu Gupta, president of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference (AINEC) the editors would visit various newspaper and printing establishments and some places of tourist interest. The visit of the Chinese editors, who were invited by the AINEC president, has assumed special importance in view of the proposed visit of an official team from China to discuss the border and other issues with India. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 Apr 82 p 1]

THIS WITH GDR--Alternate member of the GDR Socialist Unity Party (SED) Political Bureau Guenter Schabowski called on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the Capital on Thursday and conveyed to her cordial greetings from the GDR Head of State Erich Honecker. Mr Schabowski, who had led the GDR Socialist Party (SDP) delegation to the CPI's 12th congress at Varanasi, left for Berlin after this meeting with Mrs Gandhi. Mrs Gandhi reciprocated Mr Honecker's greetings with warmth and said the Government of India stood for furtherance of the close friendly relations between India and the GDR and expansion of the existing Indo-GDR economic cooperation the prospects for which were good. Mr Schabowski lauded the role of India as a factor of peace and stability in Asia and non-alignment. He also called for further deepening of Indo-GDR relations and condemned the imperialist policy of confrontation and striving for military superiority. Mrs Gandhi pointed out that her Government was totally opposed to the policy of aggravating the international situation and the arms race leading to massive threats to world peace. She referred in particular to the continued stockpiling of new means of mass destruction which enhanced the danger of war and highlighted in this context the need to continue efforts for achieving progress in disarmament. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Apr 82 p 7]

TSU 220/7072

USE OF FOREIGN REMITTANCES DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 82 p 7

[Text]

PAKISTANIS working abroad have been remitting increasingly larger amounts to the country and, according to official estimates, during the current year, the total will amount to Rs. 30 billion. One basic benefit that accrues from this huge foreign exchange earning is balance of payments support. But 63 per cent of this hard earned foreign exchange is swallowed up by the demands of consumerism and only about 12 to 14 per cent is spent on productive undertakings. This situation has naturally been a cause for concern for the Government and economic planners. It adds heavily to inflationary pressures and has a harmful demonstration effect. It is in this context that the Federal Government has now appointed a task force to study the issue in some detail. The task force, as the Federal Finance Minister told the Majlis-i-Shoora, will study the qualitative profile of the remittances and identify the areas and projects in which the remittances can be appropriately used for productive purposes.

To channel remittances into productive undertakings, the Government has so far taken such steps as the removal of surbs from the import of in-

dustrial machinery up to the value of Rs. 10 million, the levy of import duty at concessional rate and several facilities for setting up industrial units. But the response from the Pakistanis working abroad has not been very encouraging. The reluctance of sections of entrepreneurs within the country to come up with sizable investments for new industrial undertakings and the performance of some existing industrial units, which have not shown enough profitability, might be an inhibiting factor. But there cannot be the slightest doubt that enough scope exists here for a wide range of industries to be run profitably. It will no doubt be the main business of the task force to convince the expatriates on this score and to formulate policies and measures that will attract their savings.

The task force could also study a matter of policy. The issue has been raised whether overseas Pakistanis should be allowed to take away the profits on their investments to the country of their residence. It has been argued that allowing such a facility could attract investments from those Pakistanis who are settled or are likely to remain in foreign coun-

tries for long periods and would, therefore, expect the profits to reach there. Another matter relates to procedure. The Investment Advisory Centre recently noted that Pakistanis working abroad would favour a 'one-window' operation for their investments. They would not obviously have much time or opportunity to contact several offices and departments for a single purpose. This problem should not be difficult to resolve. Setting up of a single agency, with offices attached to some of the embassies, could serve the purpose.

The Federal Finance Minister has said that the task force will also study the possibility of attracting investments from overseas Pakistanis for the building up of the social infrastructure like the setting up of dispensaries and schools, improving water supply and so on.

In terms of social benefit such investments will be very useful and expenditure on such projects will act as an anti-inflationary factor. But, by and large, persons working abroad primarily seek to improve their own financial standing. Thus, basically they should be interested in such schemes of productive investments as will ensure good returns. As far as the question of changing the existing pattern of expenditure is concerned, it has to be realised that it is related to several social factors and mere inducement may not succeed in re-deploying funds from consumerism to productive activity. Compulsory investment of a fixed ratio of remittances, which is in practice in some other countries, could perhaps be introduced with success, provided the avenues of investment offered are reasonably attractive.

CSO: 4220/515

BAR BODY OPPOSES QAZI COURTS

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 82 p 9

[Text]

The Managing Committee of the Sind High Court Bar Association has completed the detailed study of the Draft of the Establishment of Courts of Qazis Ordinance and has reiterated its "unqualified support" to the resolution of the Pakistan Bar Council which had expressed the view that "no major change was called for in the judicial procedure since the procedures in existence were fully equipped to meet all situations".

The report, the text of which has been made available to the Press said the Association was "of the firm opinion that the Qazis Courts Ordinance is an unnecessary and uncalled for deviation from the existing procedures".

"The Draft Ordinance, attempting as it does to replace the extensive and all-embracing provisions of the CPC and the Evidence Act, is a vain and fruitless exercise to frustrate the well-trying and experimented judicial process", it adds.

"It would indeed be very unfortunate if old and tried institutions and procedures which have also had the advantage of evolving over a period of scores of years, are swept away for no fault in the procedure itself but in those who work it", it continued.

Stating that the replacement of the present system by the Courts of Qazis Ordinance would be a "very indiscreet step, the report pointed to "some of the glaring deficiencies" to emphasise that the Ordinance was "a very poor, inadequate and ill-advised" substitute for the CPC and the Evidence Act.

While the CPC visualises and provides for numerous legal situations, the Draft Ordinance

"shuts its eyes to all such situations and assumes that they will never arise".

Referring to the provision for appointment of Ilaqa Qazi (a matriculate with a Sanad from a recognised institution of Fiqah), it states that "these qualifications are most inadequate for appointment of a judicial officer at any level".

Matriculation at present could at best be called the literacy level. The matriculate is devoid of any analytical mind or precise grasp "so essential for the discharge of judicial functions", it stated.

On the other hand, Pakistan does not yet have an al-Azhar type of institution to produce Ulema "enjoying a level of perfection", or command over Arabic language which is necessary in the absence of many authoritative translations and abundance of controversial works.

WHIPPING PUNISHMENT

As for Section 15 of the Draft Ordinance, the Association said:

"We are inclined to view whipping as an archaic concept of inflicting punishment..... an insult to human dignity". The maximum punishment of 40 stripes is "positively a cruelty."

It termed "solitary confinement" as a punishment contrary to Quranic injunctions and the "most cruel of all".

About Section 52 of the Draft Ordinance permitting "in effect the so-called Ulema to practise law", the report said: "It would indeed be a sad day in the judicial history when such privilege is extended to the spurious Ulema.....".

The right to be represented in courts through an agent should be limited only to such agents who possess the requi-

site qualifications and are approved by the Bar Councils, it emphasised.

Similarly, Section 55 of the Draft Ordinance "is a very poor substitute for the CPC, and in so far as the Evidence Act is concerned, we would at once say that any attempts to withdraw its application would result in reduction of the judicial process to a veritable farce", and could only "promote maladministration of justice and induct corruption and dishonesty in the judicial process".

The existing Evidence Act was "nothing but a codification of the Islamic rules of evidence" and any other thing would be contrary to the Holy Quran and Sunnah, it added.

The Association observed that although the note appended to the Draft Ordinance claimed that it sought inexpensive, speedy dispensation of justice it had done nothing of the sort.

ISLAMIC LAWS

Finally, the report observed that "Islamic laws can only be brought in where the economic and social structure of the country is first reorganised in a way which prepares it to receive and adopt the Islamic laws" adding that such conditions did not exist in Pakistan. For instance, it said, usury is practised at the State level; a thief is punished even if he commits theft to satiate his hunger; court judgments are undone; etc.

The report concluded by observing that "the only justification for a non-elected government to remain in power, if at all, is its ability to give a good, clean and efficient government."

"The extent of corruption at all levels has made life impossible; lack of security and the law and order situation have reduced the lives of the people to a nightmare; and rising prices caused partly by corruption and presently more by the devious breaking the back of the mechanism of devaluation, are ple."

TUFAIL WARNS AGAINST AGITATIONAL POLITICS

Karachi DAWN in English 7 Apr 82 p 14

[Text]

LAHORE, April 6: The Amir Jamaat-i-Islami, Mian Tufail Mohammad has cautioned the political parties that the politics of agitation and confrontation had failed to pave the way for restoration of democracy and civil rights in the past and would produce the same results in the future.

The best course of action before the parties was to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding so that the country could get out of the present crisis, he added.

Addressing a Press conference on Monday before his departure for Cairo, Mian Sahib said "our army and rules are far more gentle, civilised and nation loving than those of other countries. They believe in putting across their viewpoint in a reasonable manner and also in winning the confidence of others".

Urging the politicians to inculcate in them sanity and decency, he said the earlier it is done, the brighter would be the prospects of the electoral process and democratic revival.

He also advised the political parties not to use the Islamic faith for spreading dissension and disorder but to convert the atmosphere of agitation into that of brotherhood.

Mian Sahib who had a meeting with President Zia-ul-Haq a couple of days back, said he had discussed with the President the overall situation in the country. Asked about the prospects of election, he said that polls could be held all of a sudden at any time. He, however, expressed apprehension that some elements might again prove to be an obstacle in the way of holding of polls.

He said the Jamaat had presented its political formula

through the seven-point 'national charter' which prescribed solution to the economic and political problems of the country. Prof Ghafoor Ahmad had discussed the 'charter' with the leaders of the PPP and NDF, he added.

PTI adds: Referring to his meeting with the President he said he had discussed matters relating to the detention of innocent citizens on the charge of subversive activities and the President assured him that the innocent persons would be released soon while those found involved in subversion will be tried by the courts.

Mian Tufail emphasised the need for creating harmony in the country and forging unity among the people and said this was the only way to resolve the present crisis. It was the only way through which the country could be put on the path of democracy.

Mian Tufail criticising the policy of those newspapers which were publishing "obscene" pictures for increasing their circulation or to be competitive, said that obscenity and moral degeneration had destroyed quite a number of civilisations.

Replying to a question regarding the allegation that the Jamaat was equipping its youth with arms he said those blaming us were themselves supplying revolvers and pistols for subversive activities to their youth.

When he was told that the same allegation was made by Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, President Defunct Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, Mian Tufail Mohammed said that Noorani Mian was all the time haunted by the ghost of Maulana Abul Aala Maudoodi.

LAW MINISTER ON OMBUDSMAN'S POWERS

Karachi DAWN in English 7 Apr 82 pp 1, 6

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, April 6: The Law Minister Mr Sharifuddin Pirzada, today said President Zia-ul-Haq and his regime stands for independence of judiciary and for the rule of law.

Winding up the general debate on the draft Ombudsman law on the fourth day of the current session of the Majlis-i-Shoora, Mr Pirzada said that the office of Federal Ombudsman was being created to effectively deal with the maladministration and corruption rampant in the country. The agency has been given adequate powers to perform its duty, he pointed out.

He said the institution was for the present being established at the Federal level but in due course of time it would be set up at the provincial level as well.

The Law Minister said maladministration and corruption had a cancerous effect on the society and had assumed staggering proportions; so much so that everybody felt the necessity of an agency which could deal with the problem.

He said existing agencies and remedies available in courts were found inadequate to cope with the problem. It would be an independent authority and in accordance with the well established practices followed in countries where such an institution existed, he added.

Mr Pirzada dwelt at length with the arguments given by the Shoora members during the debate and assured them that due consideration would be given to their suggestions. He said the discussion had been frank and full, covering all aspects of the draft Order. By and large there was no disagreement with the principles and objectives of the Order, even by those

who had opposed it, he added.

ADEQUATE POWERS

The Minister said it was not correct to say that the institution would be without effective powers. "He has powers to act with considerable flexibility and seek the information he required, he will be recommending action on his findings and in case of defiance would report it to the President of Pakistan, who is the appointing authority."

The Law Minister said the Ombudsman would also be submitting reports to the President and releasing it for publication. While he would maintain secrecy during the proceedings, he would be issuing for publication his findings, recommendations and orders from time to time, as he deems fit.

He said any defiance of the orders of the Ombudsman by an officer, would be recorded in his personal file, besides other actions.

The Law Minister said the Ombudsman would also recommend necessary legislation as a result of some of his findings and investigations.

Mr Pirzada said there was no apprehension that the institution of Ombudsman would degenerate into an ineffective body and perform in the same way as some other investigative agencies are doing. "Adequate safeguards have been provided in the law to ensure its satisfactory functioning," he said.

Referring to the powers of the Ombudsman to call for any document for scrutiny or evidence, the Law Minister said that at present the privilege of denying production of any document was such that it could even defeat the very purpose of justice.

He said under the draft Order,

only the President of Pakistan would be in a position to prevent production of a document which might divulge a State secret.

APPOINTMENT

Referring to the objection regarding the appointment of the Ombudsman by the President, the Minister said in the countries where this institution existed, the Ombudsman was an agent of Parliament for justice and the Parliament appointed him. In the present situation in Pakistan, the President as Chief Martial Law Administrator was also the legislator. For this reason the Ombudsman's Order provided for his appointment by the President.

He said the tenure of the Ombudsman had been fixed as four years, keeping in view the established practice in the countries where this office existed.

He said there existed some anti-corruption laws, some agencies were dealing with the work of inspection and investigations and the courts were also taking up complaints.

CSO: 4220/515

SUGGESTION FOR RESEARCH ENDOWMENTS WELCOMED

Karachi DAWN in English 7 Apr 82 p 9

[Text]

A PAKISTANI scientist has suggested that national endowments for science and technology, and for humanities, should be created for the purpose of building up highly trained manpower in the country. He was of the opinion that funds equivalent to one dollar per capita should be available, so that high-level training could be provided. The matter of endowments for such purposes has always been an embarrassing point, since so few are made available for academic pursuits. As a matter of fact, Muslims of fifty years ago or more seemed to have been more keenly aware of the necessity for endowments or creation of trusts to further learning, and many more trusts or schools were set up in those days. There seems to be no such practice in this country. There are no doubt a few foundations, and some colleges have also been established, but these are exceptions and do not in any way signify that moneyed people regard this as customary. In many other countries houses of business and captains of industry have sought to prove their commitment to the advancement of learning and scholarship by setting up foundations. The business community of Pakistan has yet to acquit

itself creditably of this social responsibility. While we trust that more houses of business will come forward to make their contribution in this area, we suppose it will be proper in our conditions for our chambers of commerce and industry to exhort their members to improve their disappointing record or directly to sponsor a few such foundations or trusts with financial support from members.

While on the subject, we should like to invite attention to a related question. This is the problem faced by writers, artists or experts in other branches of the fine arts whose work is not of a nature to attract much commercial attention. A scholar who wishes to write a book, for instance, is badly crippled because he has to keep on earning a living, which severely curtails his ability to do research and write. The publishing industry here is often in no position to offer an adequate recompense to the author of a book which has been written after painstaking research but which is unlikely to be an instant financial success. In other countries grants from public or private foundations can often be obtained, and are available even for writers of 'serious' fiction.

so that for a year or two while writing they can support themselves comfortably without having to work. The serious shortage of writings of all sorts, especially works of research, calls for organised and sustained efforts, and these, along with improvements in the publishing field, should help. The same principle can be extended to other similar fields, so that a sculptor or artist of note whose work is not popular enough to be of commercial value can go on with his work.

CSO: 4220/515

DEMONSTRATING WOMEN CONDEMNED AS ANTIRELIGIOUS

Karachi JANG in Urdu 25 Mar 82 p 14

[Text] Hyderabad, 24 Mar, JANG correspondent's dispatch--M.S. Zafar, Mayeen Ul-Rehman, Abdul Natin Qureshi and Abdulla Sarun, leaders of the Pakistan Jamiat-e-Tulaba Islam and Abdul Rehman Usmani, organizer of Faruq-e-Azam Day Organizing Committee, have issued statements condemning the anti-al-Huda demonstrations by the Westernized women. They said that this demonstration was a conspiracy against Islamic instruction and if the demands of these women were accepted, the establishment of an Islamic system in Pakistan would not be possible, which in turn would lead to dangerous consequences for the nation. Maulana Shabbeer Ahmad and Mohammed Mustqim, president and vice president respectively, of the [Anjuman Ishayatul Islam] Organization To Spread Islamic Teachings in Hyderabad, and several other members issued a joint statement condemning the demonstration by women in Karachi and asking television authorities to continue the al-Huda program because it brings religious light to millions of people. Mufti Ahmad Mian Barqati, dean of Ahsan Albarkat University, and Maulana Abdul Haq, president of Pakistan National Alliance of Hyderabad have also deplored the demonstrations by "fashion-loving" women against a scholar of Islam and have appealed to the president of the country to issue orders to keep the women under the veil as dictated by the Islamic religion. They added that it might be difficult to keep the women at home, but they should be required to use the veil when they go out. Maulana Abdul Haq added that this demonstration against al-Huda, a program that preaches Koranic teachings, was an open conspiracy against our religion. He further said that by protesting against the teachings of the Koran, these fashion-crazy women have committed blasphemy. If the government does not take action to stop such activities, the common people in the country will rightfully think that the government is only giving lip service where Islam is concerned. Student leaders Maboob Azam and Abdulgaffar Bandhani of Sukkur, commenting on the anti-Israr Ahmad demonstration by Westernized women at the Karachi television station, said that these women are ignorant of Islamic teachings. Both of these student leaders said that had these women known about the teachings of Islam, they would not have dared to protest against the Koran. They added that Islamic society cannot ignore such deplorable actions as they result in making other women wayward and trample their rights. These leaders asked the demonstrating women why they did not do anything when innocent women were being abducted and raped openly during the former administration. If the Koran does not give any rights to women why have they come out in front of everyone [demanding rights]? They wanted to advise these women to follow the 'burq'

tradition and avoid being seduced by Western culture. The students leaders added that this demonstration was a conspiracy against the country and religion. They demanded that strict laws be enacted against such anti-Islamic activities. They also demanded that al-Huda be continued.

7997

CSO: 4203/103

PAKISTAN

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT USED AS COVER FOR PROSTITUTION

Karachi JANG in Urdu 10 Mar 82 p 3

[Excerpts] The martial law team of Karachi East raided a prostitution ring in Soldier Bazaar and arrested the leaders, Haji Abdul Samad and Sirajuddin, their two pimps, Mohammad Zakir Shakir and Aslam, five women and six customers; 11,000 rupees was also found.

The most regrettable aspect of this prostitution ring's activity was that it was being run from an office under cover of the Women's Movement of Pakistan. The girls procured for sex transactions were referred to by the code words of "books on the Pakistan Movement."

According to Pakistan Press International, the Soldier Bazaar ring operated behind the attractive billboard of the Women's Movement of Pakistan. Customers would phone the "office" and enquire "Do you have a book on the Pakistan Movement?" The secretaries in the "office" knew what the customer really wanted and would direct him to where he could find the particular "book." Thus, the customer would find what he was looking for and the "office" would get its fee.

The raiding martial law team, which was accompanied by a magistrate and a heavy contingent of police, also found literature on Islam and the Pakistan Movement at the prostitution center, literature that the Haji and his companions in evil were using to hoodwink the authorities. Every Muslim and patriotic Pakistani will be justifiably saddened to see the sacred name of Pakistani women and the Pakistan Movement used for such a shameful purpose. These men carried on their evil business without the slightest twinge of conscience for defaming their sacred land and insulting a religion professed by people all over the world.

The news story hurts me deeply, too, but I know that what has happened is not a novel experience in our society, where much goes on under the sacred name of religion and the Pakistan Movement while honorable men look on.

This news report proves that we are so obsessed with making money by illegal means that we have not only taken leave of our senses but have also lost all sense of shame. We are willing to sacrifice our country and our religion for our ill-gotten gains, and we do it all in the name of country and religion. We are ignorant of the moral condition of Prophet Noah's people before the flood, but it is just this kind of ignorance that invites floods like those of Noah's time.

BRIEFS

ISLAMIC EDUCATION ADVISER APPOINTED--RAWALPINDI, April 6--President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq has appointed Dr. Muhammad Muslehuddin as Adviser to the President on Islamic Education and visiting professor to Islamic University, Islamabad with effect from Feb 11, 1982, according to a notification issued by the Cabinet Division here. The Education Division would be the Administrative Ministry concerned with the work assigned to Dr. Muslehuddin. [Karachi DAWN in English 7 Apr 82 p 1]

BEGUM ASGHAR'S PETITION HEARING--LAHORE, April 6--The Lahore High Court has adjourned the hearing till next week of the writ petition filed by Amina Asghar Khan, wife of Air Marshal (retd) Asghar Khan, challenging the ban on her entry in the Punjab. [Karachi DAWN in English 7 Apr 82 p 6]

CHINESE OFFICIALS IN GILGIT--GILGIT, April 6--A three-member team consisting of senior officials of the Chinese Embassy in Pakistan arrived here in connection with the Chinese festival "Qing Ming" and placed floral wreaths at the monument, built in memory of those Chinese workers who sacrificed their lives while building the Karakoram Highway [Karachi DAWN in English 7 Apr 82 p 6]

EDUCATION PROJECTS BEING EVALUATED--LAHORE, April 6--Education Experts were evaluating the progress of students in some 1,800 primary schools set up by the Punjab Government last year in collaboration with the World Bank. The programme was initiated at a cost of over Rs 35 million with 50 per cent, including a foreign exchange component of about Rs 5.4 million, to be provided by the World Bank. An amount of Rs 7 million has been allocated for the same project in the current fiscal year development programme. Under the programme 1,800 primary schools were set up throughout the province to improve grass roots education standards, besides increased enrolment with better chances to girl students. Under the first phase of the programme, the 1,800 schools were divided into 300 groups. Of them, 300 primary schools were declared as 'centre schools' with an extra teacher functioning as coordinator. In each 'centre school' a conference hall was set up for meetings amongst the teachers attached to the project. A supervisor was to look after the work on the project in each administrative division while a project director was supervising the entire project at the province level. Teaching was started last April in all these 1,800 primary schools by the teachers specially trained for this purpose and now the achievements were under evaluation. [Karachi DAWN in English 7 Apr 82 p 4]

AL-ZULFIQAR MAN HELD--LARKANA, April 10--The Larkana Special Police raided a village and arrested a youth, Nadir Hussain Bhand, who, according to the police belongs to terrorist organisation, "Al-Zulfiqar". After two days of interrogations at the Town Police Station, Larkana, the accused was taken to Karachi for further investigations, it is learnt. Nadir Bhand, who was arrested under MLR-78, belongs to Bhand village in Miro Khan tehsil, Larkana District. [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 82 p 2]

STUDENTS BLOCK CAMPUS TRAFFIC--The supporters of Karachi University Students' Union yesterday blocked the Campus traffic for about half an hour by locking the traffic barrier, says a KUSU Press release. The students also sprinkled some chemicals with had odour, in front of the Administration Block." [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Apr 82 p 8]

APPEAL FOR AL-HUDA--Karachi, 22 Mar--The following prominent persons have issued a joint communique calling on General Zia to take serious note of the protest of wives of high officials and other women accompanying them against Dr Israr Ahmad's al-Huda program at Karachi television station and to order the popular program of Dr Israr Ahmad to continue: Seven former presidents of Karachi and the High Court Bar Association--Naseem Faruqi, Gulam Hussein Abbasi, Nazalim Ahmad, Syed Zafar Hussein, Rehan Alhasan Faruqi, Abrar Husan and Zahir Uddin Ahmad; two former vice presidents, Qazi Mahfuz Ahmad and Nayaz Ahmad Khan; two secretaries general of the High Court Bar, Abdul Latif Shakur and Kamal Mansur Alam; member of the Pakistan Bar Council Raja Haq Nawaz; six members of the Sind Bar Council, Iqtidar Ali Hashmi, Zahiruddin Khan, A.K.M. Adris, Shaykh Abdul Aziz, Ismail Budhiar and Mubarak Hussayn; and chairman of the Sind Bar Council Syed Samieh Ahmad along with 25 prominent lawyers. [Text] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Mar 82 p 21] 7997

ISRAR AHMAD STATEMENT--Karachi, 22 Mar--Dr Israr Ahmad, the prominent scholar, has stated that if the present government truly wants to establish an Islamic system, it should bar women from working in offices and walking in the streets without veils, framing laws to achieve this. He further said in an interview today that laws should be enacted to retire all the women working in offices and abolish their jobs. He said that the major reasons for the increase in crime were men and women working side by side in offices and co-education in the schools. He observed that the Islamic religion was against women working in movies and television, going out for shopping and eating in restaurants. He added that he was not against the education of women but there should be separate institutions for both sexes and that Islam allows women to work in the medical and educational professions only. [Text] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Mar 82 p 21] 7997

URDU ISSUE--Despite the obvious efforts of General Zia ul-Haq, president of Pakistan, and his government to increase the use of Urdu as national language, all nationalized banks, the Pakistan Banking Council and the bureaucracy are still using English to conduct their business. Many of the clients of these banks who read Urdu and regional language newspapers are deprived of information about these banks and their accounts. Urdu-speaking account holders of nationalized banks have appealed to President Zia to instruct these banks to publish their annual reports in Urdu and regional languages. It has been learned that on the instruction of the Pakistan Banking Council, the five nationalized banks are having their latest annual reports published in English

newspapers only. When it was brought to the notice of the Pakistan Banking Council, a spokesman for the Council said that there are several terms used in balance sheets and annual reports which "it is not possible for us to render in Urdu or in the regional languages." [Text] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Mar 82 p 21] 7997

POLITICAL VIOLENCE--The prominent leader of the former National Democratic Party, Mr Abdul Wali Khan, has condemned violent tendencies in the country's politics. Speaking to newspapermen on 10 March in the residence of the late Arbab Sikander Khan Khattak in Tehkal Bala, Abdul Wali Khan said that the situation demands that serious consideration be given to the question of dealing with elements who achieve their ends by violent means. He said that those with political power have to decide how necessary it is to pay attention to these psychotic elements and to the dangerous tendency to achieve political aims through violence. He said that such a course is necessary because once violence begins, there would be no end in sight, and those who set the fire would finally be consumed in the flames. Abdul Wali Khan has drawn timely attention to the problem of curbing violence and was quite correct in saying that the situation demands a serious study of this tendency and an effort to curb it on a nationwide scale, for if the demon of violence once breaks loose, there would be no limit to its destructive results. This problem is not merely the responsibility of the government or the opposition party but is a national tragedy, and all patriotic persons should try to stop the violence. [Text] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 11 Mar 82 p 3] 9863

POLICE INEFFECTIVENESS--Since the beginning of the police campaign against antisocial elements, many such elements and even an occasional pedestrian have been arrested, but persons responsible for seven consecutive armed robberies have not yet been apprehended. What is even more ridiculous is that the police are denying that some of these robberies ever took place and are trying to hold the victims themselves responsible for the others. The police are also calling the robberies ordinary incidents. In fact, our police are justified in what they are doing, for after all, it is an easy matter for the protectors of the law to make the innocent appear guilty and the guilty innocent. Lack of security is of great significance to law-abiding and innocent people, but the police regard it as a matter of little significance because any event that occurs regularly becomes an ordinary event. To cover up their negligence, lack of discipline and lawlessness, what other position could the police take? We have suggested before that first of all a strong campaign should be undertaken to cleanse the police department and that the completion of such a campaign started in Karachi, or better yet in those areas where the seven robberies took place, the people would have a sign of relief. It can be said with certainty that these measures against the responsible officers in these seven police districts would bring peace and security to the inhabitants of Karachi and break the routine of these "ordinary incidents." [Text] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 Mar 82 p 3] 9863

CSO: 4203/93

STUDENT DISCONTENT AT CRITICAL POINT

Manila PHILIPPINE COLLEGIAN in English 27 Jan 82 p 3

[Text]

No event, before or since the start of the last decade, has dramatized just how potent and effective student action could contribute in altering our society as poignantly as the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

In a series of chaotic episodes that news photos of that time clearly illuminate, students, workers, farmers and every entity of the progressive sector staged demos and mass actions that reverberated throughout the thoroughfares of Metropolitan Manila.

Among these young men and women who made history were — inevitably — UP students. In fact, the Student Cultural Association of UP (SCAUP) was a distinguished coalition at that time. The Diliman Commune proves just how big a part UP students played during the FQS.

The day was January 26, 1970. President Marcos was delivering the State-of-the-Nation address at the Congress. Outside were big crowds estimated at sixty-thousand — students, workers, farmers, teachers and even religious groups — anxiously waiting. At the sidelines were policemen and the military.

When the President made his exit, a commotion stirred up the unsettled throng. The most salacious of invectives were hurled at President Marcos — together with an alligator effigy. "Puppet! Puppet!" was the deafening roar of the irate multitude. Instantaneously, the presidential security men were all over the place, cordoning off the President from what could have been uncontrollable mayhem.

As the black limousine sped away, the demonstrators flung their placards towards the presidential vehicle. Some security personnel leaped atop the car to ward off the shower of stones and pop bottles. Then charged the armed policemen. Shots rang out almost unheard and unnoticed in the

midst of turmoil. Hundreds limped home with cuts, lacerations or cracked skulls. Five were killed. Scores of demonstrators were arrested.

If January 26 was bad, the night of January 30 was even worse. In front of Malacañang, around 50,000 demonstrators assembled, a great many of whom came from 36 Manila schools and 40 provincial institutions. They pelted the Palace with stones and anything they could get hold of. It was ataxia once more.

Having hijacked a fire truck, they rammed it through the iron grills of Malacañang's Gate 4 and set afire various vehicles inside. That sent the Palace guards scurrying after them down the Miendiola bridge. Armed with molotov cocktails, pill boxes, stones and bottles, they waged a running battle with the military elements.

The use of tear gas put an end to the nightmarish confrontation that claimed the lives of Ricardo Alcantara, Felicisimo Roldan, Bernardo Tausa and Fernando Catabay. Alcantara was then a UP student.

Because of the incident, classes were held off for almost two weeks. A \$600,000 Trust Fund was launched by President Marcos for what he termed the Student Welfare Program. If it was meant to alleviate the situation, it never did. Demos continued. The month of February saw three more big mass actions held at Plaza Miranda. The US Embassy, likewise, was not spared. And in all instances, there too were encounters between the demonstrators and the military.

The month was already March. The intensity of summer heat harmonized with the zeal of the people to take to the streets. On the third day, the first People's March was held. From the Rotonda in Quezon City it wound up at Plaza Lawton. There was free-flowing traffic as jeepney drivers staged a simultaneous strike.

Finally, the biggest of them all was the Poor People's March on the 17th. An estimated 150,000 joined it. They met in separate staging areas in Quezon City, Makati, Caloocan and Tondo and converged at Plaza Moriones in Tondo, where culminated a "Peoples Tribunal" that put on trial the crimes of the state. This was to be the final event in the First Quarter Storm.

The FQS was no irresponsible rampage by a desperate mob. Rather, it was a beacon from the progressive movement that the time had come for society to change.

Before the First Quarter Storm blew in, the country was engulfed in economic and political crisis that saw majority of Filipinos live in almost total deprivation.

Because of the Laurel-Langley Agreement, and the lifting of imports control in 1962, the influx of American and Japanese products went unabated. In 1966, we bought \$24.6 million more than what we could sell in the export markets; three years later, in 1969, this had widened to \$137 million. It only left us borrowing more and more money from outside — deep in the foreign debt trap.

Inflation and unemployment were high, and if there was one thing that remained static, it was the poor laborer's measly salary.

In the countryside, murder and massacres were the order of the day. Infamous of these are the 1967 Lapiang Malaya and the 1969 Capas, Tarlac killings. Terrorism by the military and the CHDF predecessors, the Home Defense Forces, was resorted to in order to suppress the discontented.

As the conditions grew harsher and the people disenchanted with the government, nationalistic fervor heightened, especially among the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals. Together they denounced what they deemed to underlay all evils: American imperialism.

Here at UP, students boycotted their classes to protest a colonial system of education. The sending of the Philippine Civic Action Group (Philcag) as support to the US Armed Forces in the Vietnam war was boldly denounced, as was the continued stay of American military bases in the country.

A 600,000-member labor force, the Pinagbuklod na Manggagawang Pilipino, walked out of their factory chores to protest the failure of Congress to approve a 10-peso minimum wage law. That crippled business activities in the manufacturing areas in and around Manila.

At the same day that the first People's March was to be held, 5,000 jeepney drivers mounted a paralyzing strike protesting gasoline and oil price hikes.

However one looks at it, the conditions had ripened for such an upheaval. So volatile was the atmosphere that President Marcos even commented: "This country is like a social volcano!"

Twelve years since the FQS, the Philippine scene is not a bit dissimilar. And today's signs of the times have never been more foreboding.

The Laurel-Langley Agreement is no longer in force, but in its wake had come the Export Incentives Act, Investment Incentives Act, Corporate Farming Act, etcetera, which tolerate transnational corporations exploiting the country's resources. Foreign debt ballooned from about \$2 billion in 1969 to \$15 billion last year, and the value of the peso as compared with its real value in 1972 nosedived to P0.3118.

The bloated national defense budget, which has shot up from P28 million in 1972 to P5.4 billion in 1981, is a repulsive affront to the taxpayers, especially if used for countryside militarization, which has deepened to a pervasive degree. The Las Navas massacre, which included children, was an abomination. Only two weeks ago, the Armed Forces received a shipment of some \$34.1 million worth of military hardware in an accelerated delivery program by Washington.

As a consequence of these events, the "social volcano" appears to be spewing a great deal of lava — again.

Between August and October 1981, approximately 350,000 students took part in boycotts in at least sixty schools scattered throughout the archipelago.

More than 6,000 farmers, workers and fishermen picketed the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform to present a 17-point demand, foremost of which is the full implementation of the agrarian reform program.

Jeepneys pulled out of the EDSA route for days when the 8,000-strong Pagkakaisa ng mga Samahan ng Tsiper at Operator rejected a detrimental rerouting scheme.

Even the hitherto subservient teachers vacated their classrooms. Some 80 percent of Manila's elementary and high schools were emptied when 12,500 teachers walked out last year to protest miserable working conditions.

Twelve years since the FQS, the setting is eerily alike. And sooner than later, it just might lead to a series of political actions that hasn't been witnessed since the First Quarter Storm of 1970. □

KKK PROGRAM CREATING FALSE HOPES

Manila PHILIPPINE COLLEGIAN in English 27 Jan 82 p 8

[Article by Democrito Verdadero]

[Text]

This article is entitled this way lest the reader mistake this as another one of those articles about the KKK (Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran).

At the outset, we would like to make it clear that we are not against improvement of the people's livelihood. In fact, we are for it. What we are against is a livelihood program that will not solve the livelihood problem. And this is what the KKK is.

The KKK is first of all an admission that there is a serious illness.

The symptoms of this illness are many and very apparent: poverty, hunger, malnutrition, unemployment, underemployment, low wages, high prices, inflation, shortages of locally-produced commodities, etc.

A good diagnosis of this illness would reveal its root causes: domination of the economy by a foreign and local elite, and land problem, economic and fiscal management, official profligacy and corruption.

Now, the KKK does not even pretend to address itself to these root causes. At best, it seeks to mitigate the suffering. It is like a prescription of aspirin for cancer. In short, it is a palliative.

Even as a palliative, the KKK cannot be expected to be effective.

The KKK basically involves the establishment of various livelihood projects or enterprises to be owned and managed by community residents and to be financed by loans from the government.

It is essentially the same as such projects as the Masagana 99, Masaganang Maisan, Biyayang Dagat, etc. These projects are admitted even by the government to be failures.

The only substantial difference is that the KKK is being launched on a grander scale.

In other words, it is the same dog with a different collar.

The KKK purports to promote "self-reliance, self-help and self-determination."

But the very scheme of the KKK defeats that purpose.

It is clearly another one of those programs conceptualized and planned at the top and then rammed down the throats of the people. In short, this is another case of the top-down (as distinguished from the bottom-up) approach to development.

Experience with this approach has invariably been as follows: Not having participated in the generation of projects on the basis of their own needs and perceptions, people have no personal stake in the successful outcome of such projects and thus let such projects die a natural death, especially after the government leaves the project area.

The KKK is therefore creating false hopes.

It seeks to divert the attention of the people from the true hope — the solution of the root causes.

Such a solution is necessarily radical; i.e., one that goes to the *radix* (Latin) or root of the problem.

Indeed, an illness as serious as cancer requires a radical solution.

The radical solution to the social cancer of the Spanish colonial regime was represented by the KKK (Kataas-taasang Kagalang-galang na Katipunan) of the 1890s. The Katipunan asserted the sovereignty of the Filipino people, the protection and promotion of civil liberties, the confiscation of friar estates and the elimination of theocratic rule.

By usurping the initials of the Katipunan, the KKK pretends to be a radical solution when it is not.

The radical and lasting solution to the livelihood problem, and for that matter, the basic problems of our society lies in reasserting our sovereignty, regaining our freedom and using these to create a society where poverty and social injustice have been eliminated.

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